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THE HISTORY OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHĀRAS

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BY

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In Memory of My Father

of the type referred to. Since the location of the Mālavas is known from their coin finds etc., to have been Rajputana and adjoining areas of the Punjab and since later a different region is named after them, we may reasonably conclude that at some time before this date they had migrated *en masse* from one region to the other. Since the Hūṇas had also retired to their later, comparatively restricted domain, the field was clear in Rajputana for the rise of a new power.

This brings us to one of the main problem concerning the historian of the period. The leading role in the area is now played by a people of whom previously not even the name has been mentioned. The Gurjaras appeared as if from no-where precisely about this time and not only are they the dominating element in Rajputana, but even at the beginning of the period they are seen to be pressing out from it. Not unnaturally the question of the origin, so suddenly and in such strength, has long been a much debated problem. It seems so inexplicable that for a long time the theory was held and to a considerable extent is still held, that the Gurjaras were foreigners who entered India in company with or about the same time as the Huns, settled in the areas which they are later found occupying, and became rapidly Hinduised. Dr. Puri comes down strongly on the side of those who oppose this view, and rightly so, since evidence for such a people living outside India is non-existent, and further a considerable weight of evidence points to the fact of their origin in the region of the Arbuda Mountain. Consequently we will be doing most justice to the evidence in agreeing that "the Gurjaras formed a group or tribe representing people of different castes....(who) were living in Rajputana from where they migrated and established themselves at different places (pp. 6-7).

The appearance of the Gurjaras and the rise of the new Rajput families coincide in time, and of the later some of the most important are known to be of Gurjara origin. This applies in particular to the Pratihāras, the most important of all, and the subject of the present book. Even in their imperial period, when the centre of gravity is moved to Kanauj, it is by this time that not only they but their whole empire is known to their neighbours. The gradual rise of their fortune and the growth of their empire is traced in detail by Dr. Puri on the basis of the documentation available. The materials for history are not as abundant as one would like, but what there is has been carefully sifted and weighed, and a reliable picture presented to the reader. In addition the economic, religious, and social life of the time, literature, art and education receive appropriate attention. The book sums up what is known on the basis of our present evidence. Further progress depends on the possibility of further documentation, and this in turn on the spade of the archaeologist. The ruins of Kanauj, it seems, still lie mainly untouched. We may hope that in time we may know what secrets they have to reveal.

T. BURROW.

PREFACE

The Gurjara problem has remained, not indeed, a *terra incognita*, yet a subject still worth further investigation. Scholars have no doubt discussed the origin of the Gurjaras, and on the slender evidence of similar endings – Khazar and Gujar – they are supposed to be foreigners, associated with the Hūnas in their march towards India. Of late, some have suggested the Indian origin of the Gurjaras but they could not locate their original home nor account for the absence of their names in Indian literature. Some even doubted the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj. I have, therefore, considered afresh this foreign origin theory, and after dislodging it have suggested the probable home of the Gurjaras in the region round mount Abu which is connected with the origin of several other families as well. Its association with the Gurjaras in the Jainad inscription of the time of Jagaddeva and his feudatory Dāhimalolārka, and the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapala, despite the late character of these references, seems to be based on certain traditions, which were probably handed down from several generations. The association of the Gurjaras with the Hūṇas, as supposed by Hoernle and others, rests on very flimsy grounds. It must not be forgotten that the Hūṇas, could not be assimilated into Hindu society till the eleventh century A.D., but, for the Gurjaras, it is rather strange that the dust raised by their inroad took no time to settle down, and they were easily absorbed, as we find references to Gurjara Brāhmaṇas in the sixth century A.D. Such a thing would have been an utter impossibility if they had been foreigners. In fact, they were very probably tribal people who remained in obscurity for long and were formerly known as the Arbudas. The absence of their name in early Indian chronicles is no ground for doubting their Indian origin. Here an analogy may be suggested. The Kharaparikas and Sanakānīkas – the tribal peoples mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta- would have been unknown to Indian history except for this solitary reference.

The Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj were Gurjaras, and there were not one but quite a few ruling families of this tribe. In their own records they are called Pratihāras, but others call them *Gurjaras*, and their land is called *Gurjaratrā*. Both these terms are used with reference to different families, and different parts of western Rajputana and Gujarat. I have, therefore, analysed and classified all the references to these terms in the Pre-Pratihāra & Pratihāra periods with a view to considering the position of the Gurjaras and their settlements in different periods, and notice their emigration from their homeland in different directions. In this connection I have also taken into account the areas of the Gujurī and Mewatī dialects which demonstrate that the former is not only related to the latter but it was carried to the distant region of the Swat from Rajputana by the Gurjaras.

I have discussed at length the Political History of the Pratihāra line of Haricandra, suggesting that there were a few Pratihāra families in existence even before Haricandra, and he was preceptor to one (*Pratihāra-vaṁśa-guru*) and married probably in another. Haricandra himself had no ambition, but his sons from the Kṣatriyā wife carved out a kingdom centring round Maṇḍor, probably with the help of the relations on the mother's side. It has no connection with the Broach line of the Gurjaras, nor has Hiuen-Tsang

referred to the Gurjara ruler of this family. The latter's reference seems to fit in more with Varmalāta of the Vasantagarh (Sirohi) inscription of V.682, who had a big kingdom and was his contemporary. It is also clear from the Jodhpur inscription that Devārāja, whom Śilūka knocked down, was the protector or King of Valla-Mandala, and not of the Kanauj line as suggested by scholars. The Broach family was owing allegiance to the Kaṭacuris, and later on to the Cālukyas. The Arab invasions were responsible for the integration of these small states, and two strong powers emerged: the Gurjara-Pratihāras of the Nāgabhaṭa family in the north and the Cālukyas in the south-west. The family of Haricandra was not liquidated but it occupied a subordinate position.

The history of the Kanauj family of the Pratihāras is discussed at considerable length in three chapters—the first one dealing with the events up to Rāmabhadra, the second one exclusively confined to Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, and the third one dealing with the later Pratihāras. It is suggested that the original Pratihāra seat was at Ujjain, as we find reference to Vatsarāja, the King of Avanti, in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* in Śaka 705. Here Dantidurga performed the *Hiraṇyagarbha* ceremony, and was waited upon by the kings including the Gurjara lord. Nāgabhaṭa, the first ruler, came into prominence after his victory over the Mlecchas when the other powers had given way. His empire extended as far as Broach, as we find reference to Nāgāvaloka in the Hansot Plate inscription of Bhartṛivaḍḍha dated in V. S.814. There seems no connection of Prithuvardhana and his conquest of the Gurjara kingdom with Nāgabhaṭa, as presumed by some scholars. Nāgabhaṭa died in *c.* A.D. 760 and was succeeded in turn by his nephews Kakustha (Kakkuka), and Devarāja (Devaśakti) who were nonentities. The latter's son Vatsarāja was ruling in A.D. 783 at Avanti, and he seems to be enterprising, and gained success against the ruler of Bengal, but in his turn was driven away by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva who deprived him of his two white umbrellas obtained from Bengal. The Pratihāra family was not rooted out, as we find his successor playing a more important role in the political life. Nāgabhaṭa II seems to have formed an alliance with the rulers of Sindha, Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and through the help of his feudatories Kakka of the other Pratihāra line, and Bāhukadhavala captured the strongholds of Ānartta, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya countries. The tripartite struggle between the Pratihāras, Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued in his time. He may have suffered some reverses in the earlier part of his career, as we find a reference to his flight by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkarāja in the Pathari inscription of Parabala, but the weakness of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda III because of his preoccupation in the South and his old age, enabled Nāgabhaṭa to fight successfully against the Pālas; and by dethroning Cakrāyudha, the Pāla protégé, he firmly laid the foundations of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire at Kanauj. The Haras inscription of Vigraharāja refers to his distinguished assembly. I have also discussed the evidentiary value of *Bappa Bhaṭṭicarita* and have accepted some of the details mentioned therein. Rāmabhadra's date of accession is suggested in *c.* A.D. 833 but he was a weak ruler, licentious in character, and had to pay for his lapses.

Bhoja, the next ruler who ascended the throne about A.D. 836, and his son Mahendrapāla, forming the subject of study in the next chapter on Political History, consolidated and maintained the empire intact despite the three-pronged dangers from the Arabs in the west, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south and the Pālas in the east. It was really very creditable on their part to extend and preseve the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire from Kathia-

war to the Bay of Bengal. Bhoja had to amend for his father's mistakes, and he lost no time in regaining the lost possessions and prestige. He seems to have extended the frontiers of his empire in the north-west as far as eastern Punjab. In western and central India, Cutch and Kathiawar formed parts of his empire under Avanivarman and Balavarman, and in Rajputana the Cāhamāna family of Kings was a source of great pleasure to him. His relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas can be traced in three phases — one of inactivity, indirect clash, and of some understanding. This was because both were engulfed in their own problems. The clashes with the Pālas are more specific. It is suggested by some historians that the reference to the reverse suffered by the Gurjaras in the time of Devapāla really concerns Bhoja I, but the Gwalior (Sagartal) Praśasti of this Pratihāra ruler clearly suggests that it was Dharmapāla's son Devapāla who was defeated by Bhoja, and the latter was joined by his feudatories. We find Harṣarāja's son Guhila of the Catsu inscription vanquishing the Gauda Kingdom. Harṣarāja himself was also his feudatory, and by conquering kings in the north he presented horses to Bhoja. I have also discussed his relations with the Kalacuri Guṇāmabhodhideva of the Kahla records who received a tract of land from Bhojadeva and snatched away the fortune of the Gauḍa. The Arab historians recognised his greatness, and, according to their own version, his empire was vast and extended one hundred and twenty parsangas of Sindh. This may be an exaggeration, but, at least, some portion of Sindh was included in his empire. After ruling for nearly half a century he left a strong and consolidated empire which was preserved intact by his son Mahendrapāla. It is likely that the Yuvaraja Nāgabhaṭa of the Daulatpur record may have ruled for a year or two, or he died earlier, as there is no reference to him in the genealogical lists. Mahendrapāla ruled for about twenty years from *c.* A.D. 888-908, and in his time the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire included some parts of Magadha, and the hold over Kathiawar remained undisturbed. There were also feudatories for Rajputana and Central India namely Guṇarāja and Undabhaṭa. Mahendrapāla was a great patron of learning, and Rājaśekhara was his court poet. It was an age of literary activity and florescence.

After Mahendrapāla, the third phase of Gurjara-Pratihāra history begins with the gradual decline due to many factors. It seems that there was disputed succession and Bhoja II with the help of the Kalacuri ruler Kokalladeva ruled for a short time, followed by Mahīpāla, alias Kṣitipāla of the Asni and Sīyaḍoni inscriptions who ruled for about twenty years. There is no ground for suggesting the identity of Bhoja II with Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla. This ruler had the support of the Candella ally or feudatory Harṣadeva. It seems that many outside powers — Cedis, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Candellas — were interested in the Kanauj family, and they were backing their favourities. Mahīpāla was a great conqueror, and, if we rely on the famous verse in *the Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, his conquest extended from Kulūta in the north to Kuntala and Kerala in the south. This is also supported by the reference in the *Caṇḍakauśikam* of Kṣemīśvara. Mahīpāla's feudatories were the Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharanivarāha, Bhāmana, son of Guṇāmabhodhideva, Guhila's son Bhaṭa and probably the Candellas also, and the Cāhamanas of Śākambhari line. I have also reviewed the relations of the Candellas with the Gurjara-Pratihāras from the time of Harṣadeva up to that of Dhaṅga. The relations with the other powers, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Cedis and the Pālas, are also considered at length. Mahīpāla, like his father, offered patronage to Rājaśekhara. After him his step-brother, Vināyakapāladeva ascended the throne in A.D. 931. It has been made clear that there is no ground for identifying him with Kṣitapāla and take all the four names as synonymous, when their dates do not

The religious condition at that time was characterised by the dominance of Brahmanism, both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, and Buddhism was fast declining. There were other gods and goddesses, like Gaṇeśa, also called Vināyaka, Āditya (Sun), Bhāgīrathī and Kālī etc., which were popularly worshipped. The Kaulas also figure prominently. Jainism was popular in Rajputana, and Gujarat, and there were some Jain temples of the Tīrthaṁkaras. Islam was stepping in, but it had not found favour, except where people were forced to accept it. On the whole, the religious condition was good and toleration and catholicity were encouraged, as we find Śaivas in charge of Vaiṣṇava shrines.

This comprehensive history and culture of Northern India during the period of the Gurjara-Pratihāras is attempted for the first time, and the study is based on Inscriptions, works of Rājaśekhara and contemporary Arab accounts. This picture should not fail to give an idea of the political and social vitality of the Indians which impeded the progress of Islam for five hundred years.

Lastly, I must express my thanks to the following for the help accorded to me in the preparation and publication of this work. My Supervisor Prof. T. Burrow spared no pains in going through the draft and he has further obliged me by writing a 'Foreword' to it. I am also thankful to my teacher and colleague Prof. C. D. Chatterji for several suggestions. The publication of this work would have been difficult but for the interest taken by the Hon'ble Dr. Sampurnanand, Dr. K. M. Munshi, Prof. Humayun Kabir and Dr. P. D. Shukla of the Ministry of Education, Government of India. I am very thankful to the Central and the Provincial Governments for granting me substantial subventions to meet the cost of its publication. In the end I must not fail to express my obligations to my elder brother Sri Vishwa Nath Puri and the cooperation from my wife, Kanak Lata Puri, M.A. The indexing has been done by my research pupil Mr. Shanker Nath, M.A., now an exploration assistant in the Department of Archaeology.

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THE GURJARA-PRATIHĀRAS

(CHAPTER 1)

THE GURJARAS

The main question in connection with the history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras concerns their nationality. Were they of a foreign stock representing those pastoral nomads from the steppes of Central Asia, who poured into India either with the Hūnas, or a little later, as assumed by several scholars,[1] or were they of an indigenous origin? This complicated issue, which engaged the attention of several scholars, and for a long time, is still unsolved. Of late, the consensus of opinion seems to be in favour of the

1. Baines—'Ethnography' P. 44; V. A. Smith J.R.A.S. 1909 P. 54; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I pp. 471-478—where it is contended that the work 'Gurjara' is an Indian form of 'Khazars', a tribe that entered into India along with the White Huns. According to Hoernle, 'the Hūṇas were divided into several clans, a royal clan and several subordinate clans. The exact ethnic relation of the *Gurjaras to the Hūnas is still very obscure*. These may be generic names of the same people, or they may be specific names of sub-divisions of the same peoples; or they may be names of two peoples differing ethnically, but driven by connected causes to settle in India.' (J.R.A.S. 1905 pp. I ff), D. R. Bhandarkar suggests—'The exact ethnic relation of the Gurjaras to the Hūṇas is still very obscure, but as working hypothesis, Dr. Hoernle thinks that in the earlier part of the sixth century A.D., a great invasion of Central Asian peoples, Hūṇas, Gurjaras and others, whose exact ethnic relation we do not know took place.' (J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. XXI, pp. 411 ff). According to Kennedy, 'the Gurjaras were originally sun woshippers but they lost all traces of any special devotion to the cult of the Sun god.' (J.R.A.S. 1907 p. 975). Probably he supposed them to have come from Iran. A.M.T. Jackson identified the Gurjaras with the Gaudas (Gaura, now Brāhmaṇas) and points out that, according to Alberuni (Sachau-Translation Vol. I, P. 300), Guda= Thanesvara. The Gaur Brāhamaṇas were, and indeed are, the purohitas of the Hindu Gurjaras and still minister to some who are converted to Islam (J.R.A.S. 1905 pp. 153-4). According to Bühler, the Gurjaras were an important element of the Hūṇa group of tribes permanently settled in Rajputana. (I.A. Vol. XVII p. 192). Cuningham identifies them with the Yueh-chi or Tochari, the tribe of the Indo-Scythians (A.S.R. Vol. II p. 61). V. A. Smith suggests that the early Gurjaras seem to have been foreign immigrants closely connected with, and probably allied with the White Huns (E.H.I 4th Ed. P. 340). According to P.C. Bagchi, "the Wu-Sun had possibly the Hun affinities. The old pronunciation of the name 'Uo-Suen' in all likelihood commenced with a consonant which was later on dropped and that consonant was most probably a gutteral. In the fourth century the name was something like *Gusur* which gave rise to the name Gujar. The Wu-Sun or the Gujaras must have moved to India along with the Huns in the Third century A.D., and on the downfall of the Hun Kingdom set up their own rule." (Proceedings Indian History Congress, Aligarh p. 44). Campbell identifies the Gurjaras with Khazar tribe of Central Asia (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, appendix B). As suggested by him, Khazar appears under the following forms:—Chinese *Kosa*; Russian *Khvalisses*; Byzantine *Chozars* or *Chazars*; Armenian, *Khazirs*; Arabs *Khozar*. Other variations come closer to Gujara. They are *Gazar*, the form *Kazar* takes to the north of the sea of Asof; *Ghysar*, the name for Khazars who have become Jews; *Ghusar*, the form of Khazar in use among the Lesghians of the Caucasus (ibid).

latter point of view[1] but a clear out solution of the problem is still wanting. It would be improper, either to wait for some spectacular discovery which could shed light on this obscure problem, or to leave it unattended, when a fresh assessment of the existing sources—literary, epigraphic and foreign—coupled with some other known and fresh data could help in determining the origin and home of the Gurjaras. Here one has, however, to divest one's mind of preconceived ideas and put away old notions. It has also been suggested by some scholars[2] that the Pratihāras were not of Gurjara extraction. This is a side issue which, too, deserves fuller consideration. To keep the discussion to the narrowest possible issues ; not to bring up and start afresh the old complications, we propose considering the question of the Foreign origin of the Gurjaras, the meaning of the word Gurjara[3], original home of the Gurjars, the term Gurjaratrā, references to Gurjaras and Gurjara Country in the Pre-Pratihāra and Pratihāra periods, the Pratihāras and the Gurjaras, modern Gujars as representatives of ancient Gurjaras, the immigration of the Gurjaras and the Gujurī dialect, and finally the conclusion.

Foreign Origin of the Gurjaras :—The identification of the Gurjaras with the Khazars, first suggested by A. M. T. Jackson[4], and subsequently endorsed by D. R. Bhandarkar[5] is based on the slender evidence of similar endings; but that is not correct, as in the former we have the form *Jara* and not *Zar*. Other arguments adduced in support of the foreign origin theory are their sudden emergence as a political power in the sixth century A.D. shortly after the invasion of the Hūṇas, their gradual spread from the Punjab to the south-east, and a reference to the division of the Gurjaras on the banks of the Gangā and the Yamunā called Kushane. These arguments are 'not very strong and far less decisive', as Dr. Majumdar points[6] out. The advance of the Gurjaras from the Punjab is neither certain nor can it, by itself, suggest the foreign origin of the Gurjaras. The derivation of the Gurjaras from Khazars is an hypothesis based on the similar endings of names, and one can venture to say *non sequitur* in the matter of Kushane being associated with a tribe which disappeared in remote past. As regards the association of the Gurjaras with the Hūṇas, they would have been mentioned to-gether in literature and records, if they had joined hands.

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1. Ref. G. H. Ojha, History of Rajputana, Vol. I pp. 155 ff; C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India Vol. II, pp. 32 ff ; D. C. Ganguly, I.H.Q. Vol. X, pp. 337 ff (Contra B. Ghosh, I.C. Vol. I, pp. 510 ff); Dasarath Sarma, I.H.Q. Vol. X, pp. 582 f. ; D. R. Mankad, Ibid. p. 584 ; and K. M. Munshi. 'The Glory that was Gurjaradesa' pp. 4 ff. ; S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (quoted in J.D.L. Vol. X p. 3) says "I did my best to examine the materials on which the theory of immigration was based and I submit that, in view of all evidence that has been forthcoming of recent years, the theory of immigration is unsustainable."
2. I. A. Vol. LXII. 1923 p. 191 ; I.H.Q. Vol. X, pp. 337 ff.
3. The work is used in different forms—*Gurjara*, *Gurjjara*, *Gūrjara* and *Gūrjjara* in the records, and in different senses . It is difficult to associate any particular form with a particular sense, as for example, Gurjara is used as the name of a tribe or people (E.I. Vol. XV. p. 104 ; E.I. Vol. XIV p. 266 etc.) and also as the name of a country (E.I. Vol. XI. p. 140 ; ibid. Vol. XVII p. 241) and Gūrjara as a people (E.I. Vol. XIV, P. 266 ; E.I. Vol. I p. 123 etc.), as the name of a country (E.I. Vol. XII p. 19) ; and even the king of that country was called Gurjara (E.I. Vol. V. p. 190 ; E.I. Vol. XVI p. 45). It is better to accept one form and use it uniformly, and we prefer the form *Gurjara*.
4. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, App. III.
5. J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI, pp. 413 ff.
6. Bhārtīya Vidyā Vol. X. 1949 p. 8.

Besides the inconclusive nature of the evidence on which this theory rests, there are positive grounds for disassociating the Gurjaras—the supposed Indianised form of the ancient Khazars—with the Hūnas. If the two had been associated together in their march towards India, how is it that in the accounts of the Hūna conquests, the name of the ally is missing? In reply to this argument Jackson points out that the absence of the Gurjaras could be satisfactorily explained if it is presumed that they occupied a subordinate position in the great White Hūna invasion. It is interesting to find a reference to the Hūnas in the *Bhīṣmaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*[1], while the Gurjaras or Khazars are unnoticed in this epic. The Interpolators were hardly aware of the status of the two tribes, and, if there could be references to a large number of minor tribes, there seems no reason why the Gurjaras were ignored. It is equally inexplicable how this tribe, occupying a subordinate position, could establish a set of kingdoms; and Hiuen Tsang refers[2] to one such Gurjara Kingdom called Kiu-che-lo, described as the second biggest kingdom of Western India with its capital at Pi-lo-mi-lo or Bhinmal. At another place, he refers to the central district of the Punjab.—Po-fo-ta or Po-la-fa-to. Cunningham suggests[3] that its eastern boundary was limited by the Sutlej which, for a hundred miles, formed the frontier line of the kingdom of Gurjara. The King of the Gurjara kingdom, according to the Chinese pilgrim, was Kṣatriya by caste. Absence of any reference to the Gurjaras in earlier literature and inscriptions and to the Hūnas and their kingdom in the time of Hiuen Tsang precludes the possibility of any association, whatsoever, between the two tribes. Bāṇa, when enumerating the campaigns of Prabhākaravardhana, distinguishes the Hūṇas and Gurjaras. His manner of using the names is neither a sufficient proof of their ethnic inter-relation nor does it suggest the alien character of the latter. The question of the subservience of the Gurjaras to the Hūṇas does not arise.

Another point worth consideration in this connection is that, while the Chinese pilgrim mentions the Kṣatriya caste of the Gurjara ruler, he is completely silent about any Hūna ruler or his kingdom. This argument *exsilentio* is seldom conclusive, as Hiuen Tsang has not referred to all the kingdoms of India in that period, and Bāna's reference to the Hūnas may be deemed as authoritative. But what about their position in Hindu Society? Unfortunately there are no references to the Hūnas assuming their proper place in Indian society before the eleventh century A.D.[4] We notice in the

1. According to the late Profesor Macdonell, the epic acquired its present character by A.D. 350 (A History of Sanskrit Literature p. 287) but D. R. Bhandarkar assigns it to A. D. 450 because of the reference to Hūna in it. (I.A. Vol. XL. p. 18, note 39).

2. Beal-Buddhist Records, Vol. I. P. 165 n.

3. Ref. Cunningham; Ancient Geography of India (Śāstri edition, p. 363).

4. Ref. Atpur (Udaipur state) Inscription of the Guhila Śaktikumāra, which mentions his great-grandfather Allaṭa marrying Hariyādevī, daughter of a Hūna King, and their son Naravāhana marrying a Cāhamāna princess (I.A. Vol. XXXIX p. 191). The Khairha (Rewah state) Plates of the Kalacurī P. M. P. Yaśāhākarnadeva, dated K. 823, mention Avalladevī of the Hūna family as the mother of this Kalacuri ruler. We have yet to find a record mentioning a Hūna king marrying a Kṣatriyā lady of noble family of this period. According to Buhler, "the bards and the Jain Prabandhas regularly enumerate the Hūnas among the thirty-six ksatriya Kulas, and their matrimonial alliance in the eleventh century precludes the possibility of their being considered as foreigners. It is, however, a different question whence they originally came." (E.I. Vol. I, p. 225). These are very late sources, and, if the Hūnas could find a respectable place in Indian society after nearly six hundred years, it is something notable. It was, however, suggested by

Una inscription[1] dated in V. S. 956 of the time of the P. M. P. Mahendrapāla, successor of the P. M. P. Bhojadeva, and issued by his feudatory the Calukya Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman II, that Balavarman, father of Avanivarman (II) had defeated a certain Visadha, and, by slaying Jajjapa and other kings, 'freed the earth from the Hūna race' (*bhuvanam-idam-ābhino Hūṇa-Vaṁśenabinam* v. 17). This clearly suggests that the Hūṇas were still looked down upon as a nomadic and barbaric race. The person who dealt the blow, and freed the earth from the menace of this race was the feudatory of the supposed ally of the Hūnas—the Gurjara King of Kanauj. This political animosity and social complex rule out the possibility of Hūṇa-Gurjara alliance, as proposed by Jackson and others, and there is not a shadow of a sound reason for thinking that the Gurjaras accompanied the Hūṇas as *particeps criminis* when the evidence is to the contrary[2].

Now, even if the association of the Gurjaras with the Hūṇas be disproved, it may be suggested that the former entered India sometime before the sixth century A.D. The Gurjaras had established a number of kingdoms by that time. This is purely conjectural, as it ignores certain basis considerations, namely, the absence of any evidence relating to their clash with an Indian power, and the choice of the arid desert of Rajputana, rather than the fertile plans of the Punjab, for their final settlements in India. It is equally inexplicable how the Gurjaras, as foreigners, could be assimilated so easily in Hindu society and assume a proper position. According to Pānini sūtra—*Śūdrānām= Aniravasitānām*[3] with Patañjali's gloss over it, the Yavanas and Śakas were included in the category of Śūdras with this much of concession that they were not ostracised, and the plate touched by them was not polluted. There was also no restriction on their residence in the Aryan localities. It is, therefore, clear that all foreigners were accorded the fourth grade in Hindu society, except, of course, the noble ones who were classed as Kṣatriyas later on. There is not one instance of a Yavana Brāhmana or a Śaka Vaiśya or a Hūna Brāhmana, but there are references to Gurjara Brāhmanas which would have been a sheer impossibility, if they were foreigners[4]: A late record,[5] dated in the Śaka year 1172 (A.D. 1250), of the time of the Yādava king Krisna, and recovered from Tasgaon (Satara Dist.) records the construction of a divine temple of Kālideva, and the dedication of a village by two brothers Candradeva and Keśava whose great-grandfather was a Gurjara Brāhmaṇa of the *Krisṇā-treya kula* (gotra) from northern India.

Hall that the Hūnas mentioned in the Udaipur Praśasti, and in the other mediaeval inscriptions were not Huns, but a Kṣatriya race (J.A.S.B. Vol. XXXI p. 117 note 11).

1. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 6 ff.
2. The *Mārkandeya Purāna* refers to *Guru-ṣvaras* in the list of countries and races of Western India (LVIII. 36). Pargiter suggests (Translation p. 373) that the reading should be Gurjaras. If this is accepted, it is a very strong argument for suggesting the Indian origin of the Gurjaras. On the other hand, if the correct reading be unacceptable, it should clearly refute the suggestion that the foreign origin of this tribe could be established on the slender evidence of *Jar* suffix.
3. II. 4. 10; Kielhorn; *Mahābhāṣya* Vol. I. p. 475.
4. The only exception of any foreign tribe being straight away admitted into the Brahmanical class seems to be that of the Māgas, but this was probably done under very extraordinary circumstances.
5. E.I. Vol. XXVII pp. 209 ff.

The gotra of this Gurjara Brāhmana from the north also raises certain issues; was it a special one created for the Gurjaras, or just a common one like all other gotras? Unfortunately, it is not noticed in the *Gotrapravaramañjarī*, but there are nearly half a dozen records[1] from different parts of India, mentioning this gotra, and its association with the Brāhmaṇas only. As its earliest reference can be dated in the fifth century A.D., it is highly improbable that it could have any connection with the Gurjaras as a foreign race for whom it might have been created to accommodate them in Hindu Society. This earlier reference to the Gurjara Brāhmanas rules out the foreign origin of the Gurjaras. Further, a reference to the Gurjara in the South is noticed in the Tamil poem, *Manimekhalai*,[2] composed in the sixth century A.D. It mentions one *'Kucharakudihai'*, a temple of Gurjara workmanship. This reference equally suggests the improbability of a foreign architect of Gurjara Nationality being imported into southern India as early as the sixth century A.D., while we have hardly any reference to the Gurjaras before the time of Prabhākaravardhana[3].

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1. These records include the Carkhari (Central India) plate of Devendravarman, dated in V. S. 1108, recording the grant of a village by the Candella king Devavaramadeva to Pandit Kakkana of the Krisnātreya gotra with three Pravavas, whose ancestors had migrated from Kumbhatigrāma (E.I. Vol. XX p. 126). This particular village is associated with the Brahmanas of the Krisnātreya gotra in another record—the Malhar (Central Provinces) inscription of Jayalladeva. (E. I. Vol. I p. 43). It mentions Prithvidhara, ornamented with three Pravavas and of this gotra who delonged to the village Kumbhatti. His grandson had set up a temple in the country of Tummana which had been honoured by Prince Ratnadeva of the Cedi family. The Rewah (Central India) inscription of Malayasimha, dated in the Kalacuri year 944=A.D. 1101-2, mentions Puruṣottama, the composer of the Praśasti who belonged to the Krisnātreya gotra, and was a resident of Benaras. (E. I. Vol. XIX p. 295). A Sylhet (E. Bengal) record refers to the grant made by Bhūtivarman, the great-great grandfather of Bhāskravarman (probably) by the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D. to the Sampradāyika Brāhmanas of the ten gotras which included Krisnātreya. They had immigrated to Sylhet from Mithilā (E. I. Vol. XIX p. 116; cf. ibid. p. 246 for the third lost plate of the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarman. The discovery of this plate in the very place Pañcakhaṇḍa—Nidhānapura forms part of it—where they may have originally settled, would prove that they came there from Kāmarūpa). The Chicacole Plates of Devendravarman record the grant of a village to six Brāhmanas of Kalinganagar who were members of the Krisnātreya gotra. (E. I. Vol. III p. 134). The Patna (Eastern States Agency) Copper Plate grant of the sixth year of Mahā-Bhavaguptarājan II, mentions Vāsudeva, a donee of Hṛiṣikeśa of the Krisnātreya gotra, with the *Pravara* of Arcanānasa, and the *anupravara* of Kanvaśākhā in the Yajuraveda, an immigrant from Konkaledda, and a resident of Kipatunga. (E. I. Vol. III p. 344). The last record is from Palitana (Kathiawar) of Simhaditya mentioning a grant to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, residing at Elapadra who was a student of the Maitrayānika school, and belonged to the Krisnātreya gotra (E. I. Vol. XI p. 17).
2. This evidence appears of a dubious nature, The transliteration of 'Kuchcarakudihai' as corresponding to Gurjara may not be accepted. Krisnaswami Aiyanagar doubts it as a definite conclusion. He believes that the immigration of the Gurjaras is not such a settled fact of history for India. Smith and Macdonell quote the occurrance of this expression in *Manimakhalai* as arguing a late date for the Tamil classic. (Quoted from J. D. L. Vol. X p. 3 note 2)
3. Prabhākaravardhana is eulogized as 'a lion to the Hūna deer, a burning fever to the King of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarat (or 'of the Gurjaras'), a bilious plague to that scent-elephant the lord of Gandhāra, a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭas ('Lāṭa' in text), an axe to the creeper of Malava's glory (Cowell & Thomas, trans. p. 101). The Madhuban (Azamgadh Dist. U.P.) now Lucknow Museum Plate of the M. Harṣa was engraved by Gurjjara, which is used for the first and the only time as the name of an individual by himself, (E. I. Vol. I p. 72).

Another point, rendering uncertain the foreign origin of the Gurjaras, is with regard to the route which they probably followed in coming to Rajputana. If they had come from the north-west, there must have been some clash with the native powers. A brave foreign tribe would never have moved stealthily across the arid desert of Rajputana to set up a kingdom there. Further, if they had come in large numbers they must have pushed out the native population, or, at least, caused them discomfiture. One is at a loss to understand that the dust raised by this political storm should have taken no time to settle down, when we notice that, even after nearly five hundred years, the scars left by the Hūnas were fresh, and they had hardly any social and political status of importance for a long time. Such was not the case with the Gurjaras. We find that both the Gurjara-Pratihāra families of Mandor and Kanauj trace their origin to Lakṣmaṇa, brother of Rāma of the epic fame. This is construed by scholars as a characteristic of foreign races settling in India If this be the criterion for assessing foreign origin, many other tribes, including the Candellas and the Kalacuris who trace their pedigree to epic or mythic heroes, would not be able to assert their indigenous origin.

The crucial point in the discussion with regard to the foreign origin of the Gurjaras, and their identification with the Khazars on the slender evidence of similar endings in names, as well as on facts which can be satisfactorily explained with proper analogies, make the theory incredible. The probability is that the Gurjaras, like so many other Indian tribes, were living in obscurity somewhere in Rajputana, and it was only when lust for power impelled them to rush head-long that they came into contact with others and carved out a number of kingdoms which ultimately formed the nucleus of the big Gurjara empire. Absence of the name Gurjara in early records or literature is no ground for doubting their indigenous origin. In fact, had it not been for the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, scholars would never have imagined that there were forest tribes like the Kharaparikas and the Sanakānīkas. Actually the same thing can be said about the numerous small states in Rajputana which would have remained in obscurity had it not been for the British rule in India, that supplied a unity which was previously lacking. Thus, there is not a sound reason for thinking that the Gurjaras were of foreign origin.

The meaning of Gurjara.:—The question of the foreign origin of the Gurjaras being set at rest, we may now consider the meaning of the word Gurjara. Whether it primarily denoted a country and secondarily its residents, or it was originally the name of a people whose settlements were called after them. In a recent study Dr. Majumdar opines[1] that "there is no justification for either view. In most cases it may be interpreted as a tribal or as geographical name, and in a comparatively few cases it may be especially taken as a tribal or personal epither. There is no evidence that the vast Pratihāra empire had a common geographical name and a homogenous character." He suggests that the term primarily denoted a people, and the countries derived their names from them.

We have proposed that the Gurjaras formed a group or tribe representing people of different castes. They, like so many others, were living in obscurity somewhere

1. Op. cit. pp. 2 ff.

in Rajputana from where they emigrated and established themselves at different places which came to be named after them. An analogy may be provided by the different settlements of the Mālavas in the Punjab and Rajputana ending in the province called after them. The name Gurjara is not applied to any tract of country in old literature, and in inscriptions the geographical appellation is some form derived from it, such as *Gurjaratrā*, *Gurjararāṣṭra* etc. We shall, however, consider this point when noticing the references to Gurjara and Gurjara countries in different periods.

Original Home of the Gurjaras :—In the absence of contemporary evidence, we may consider other data which could shed light on this subject. The Jainad inscription[1] from Hyderabad State refers to the wives of the Gurjara warriors shedding tears in the caves of the Arbuda, as a result of the conquest of the Paramāra Jagaddeva who is placed in V. S. 1151. The association of the Gurjaras with the Arbuda mountain is also noticed in the *Tilakamañjarī*[2] of Dhanāpala. An early inscription[3] of Varmalāta dated in the V. S. 682 from Vasantgarh refers to his feudatory Vajrabhaṭa Satyāśraya protecting Arbuda. His son was Rajjila, and a Pratihāra Bhoṭa is also mentioned. Rajjila was also the name of one of Harichandra's son, and there was another ruler named Jhoṭa in that family. The identity of names might suggest that the two families probably belonged to the same stock. If we accept this suggestion and the evidence adduced above, the association of the Gurjaras with mount Abu may be presumed. Further, this mountain is also associated with the origin of other ruling families. The Panahera inscription[4] describes the origin of the Paramāras from the fire pit on mount Arbuda. The Arthuna (Banswara, Rajputana) record[5] refers to Vasiṣṭha creating a warrior called Paramāra on mountain Abu to bring back his cow stolen by Viśvāmitra. As we are at present interested in the importance of mount Arbuda, and not with the origin of the Paramāras, we have ignored the Harsola Plates. In the case of the Gurjara Pratihāras a different legendary colouring is given in the records. It is evident from the Jodhpur[6] and the Sagartal[7] inscriptions that the two families were called Partihāra because Lakṣamaṇa served as door-keeper (*pratihārī*) to Rāma, his elder brother. The probability is that there were many pastoral tribes living in obscurity near about mount Abu. One such tribe was that of the Gurjaras. Its leaders marched out in different directions, and they founded Gurjara settlements called *Gurjaratrā*. This event took place in the sixth century A.D. as Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*[8] mentions Arbuda,

1. Bhandarkar's List. No. 2084 cf. ibid. p. 399 note 10.
2. *ady-apy-utgata-harṣa-gadgadgiro gāyanti yasyārbude Viśvamitra-jayojjhitasya bhujayor-visphurjitam Gurjaraḥ* (Kāvyamāla no. 85; 1 39.)
3. Bhandarkar's List No. 11.
4. Ibid No. 133
5. Ibid No. 143
6. E. I. Vol. XVIII pp. 95 ff.
7. Ibid pp. 107 ff.
8. V. 68. The Arbudas are noticed in the Purānas (Bhāg. Vol. XII, 1. 36; Viṣṇu Book II. chap. III; Brahma chap. XIX. Sloka 17). The Rāmāyaṇa locates the tribe in the West (Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, canto XLII). They must have been the people dwelling on and around the Arbuda mountain which is generally identified with Mt. Abu. This mountain continued to occupy a dominant place in the history of the people who were formerly living in that region. The migration of such peoples—one of them being the Gurjaras—to other regions, where they set up kingdoms named after them, was probably a living factor, and that is the main reason why the Gurjaras are connected with mount Abu.

and not Gurjaratrā or Gurjaradeśa, which terms are noticed only in later inscriptions.

Gurjaratrā :—It is rather strange that we have not come across any geographical name with a *tra* suffix, and so *Gurjaratrā* offers an interesting case for grammatical analysis. According to Pāṇini's Sūtra[1]; *deya tra ca,* as elucidated by Vāmana, the suffix *tra* may be used (also *sati*) in the sense of 'under control of', provided the making over of something is implied, viz. the thing controlled is a gift and there is a syntactical connections with *kri*, *bhū*, *as*, *sam*, *pada*. In the *Kāśikā* we find the illustrations *Brahmaṇatrā sampadyate*, *Vipratā sampadyate* etc. *Gurjaratrā*, according to this Sūtra and Vāmana's elucidation, might suggest that something was given, and was under the control of the Gurjaras. This suggestion is not acceptable even though Harichandra, the founder of the Mandor line, was a Brahmin, and was the preceptor of a Pratihāravaṁśa from which family he could have got the gift of some land (*bhū*). This would not explain why the same term is used for the other family of Nāgabhaṭa. We have to take the term in the ordinary sense of 'the settlement of the Gurjaras'. In the Ghaṭiyāla inscription[2] of Kakkuka, dated in the (*Vikrama*) Samvat 918, it is mentioned along with Travani, Māda, Ārya, Lāṭa and Paravata. The Daulatpur record[3] of Bhoja I of Mahodaya places Deṇḍavānaka Viṣaya and its village Siva in the *Gurjaratrā Bhūmi*. Kielhorn refers to an unpublished record from Kalanjar, noticed by Cunningham[4], which speaks of a man who had gone from Mangatanāka situated in the *Gurjaratrā Maṇḍala*. The record is undated, but it is placed by Kielhorn in about the eighth century A.D. Now Sivāgrāma is identified with the village Sewa where the plate was originally found, and Deṇḍavānaka *viṣaya* may be identified with the modern town of Didwana which is about 7 miles W. S. W. of Siva[5]. The Mangatanāka of the Kalanjar record may be identified with Maglona 28 miles S. S. E. of Didwana. If we follow the location of the place names mentioned above, the *Gurjaratrā-bhūmi* includes the land covered by Didwana, Siva and Maglona in the Jodhpur State, but there were probably several *Gurjaratrās*. The Rajorgadh (Alwar State) inscription[6] of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Parameśvara Mathanadeva refers to the land cultivated by the Gurjaras (*Gurjara-Vāhitakṣetra*). It appears that the Gurjara settlements were in Central and Eastern Rajputana.

Later on this term is also used to indicate Gujarat. Jinadattasūri in his *Ganadharasārdśataka*[7] mentions *Gujarattā* (*Gurjaratrā*) with its capital Anahillavāḍa (Anahillapāṭaka) and with Durlabharāja reigning there. Similarly in Dharmasāgaraganin's *Gurvavalīsūtra*[8], Sri Devendrasūri is represented to have gone to Gurjarāṣtra from

1. V. 4. 55
2. E. I. XI pp. 479 ff.
3. E. I. Vol. V pp. 208 ff.
4. A. S. R. Vol. XXI pp. ix.
5. According to the information cited by Kielhorn, the plate is said to have been found some thirty years ago among the ruins of an ancient temple near the village of Siva, the 'Sewa' of the map (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet No. 33 N. E. Long. 74 44 E, lat 276 27 N).
6. E. I. Vol. III p. 276.
7. Weber, Die Sanskrit und Prakrit Handsschriften der Berliner Bibliothak. II, 990.
8. Ibid., 1008.

Ujjayinī in Mālavaka. In the inscriptions, the Caulukyas are styled as Gurjaras, and the country ruled by them is named Gurjaradeśa. Thus, we find reference to Gurjara king Bhīma[1] identified with the Caulukya Bhīmadeva I, and his son the Gurjara King Karṇa (Karṇa Trailokyamalla) of Anahillapāṭaka, and Mahārājādhirāja Caulukya Kumārapāla[3] as the lord of the Gurjara country. The Dohad inscription[2] speaks of the Caulukya king Jayasimha ruling over the Gurjara-maṇḍala from Aṇahillapāṭaka. Similarly the Somnath Patan Praśasti[4] of the V. E. 850 mentions the Caulukya prince Kumārapāla who is called the king of the Gurjjaramaṇḍala. Instances can be multiplied to suggest that there were many Gurjara settlements, and quite a few ruling dynasties were also those of the Gurjaras. They all seem to have come from one stock, and one original home which we have suggested to be the region round about Mount. Abu, and which figures so prominently in the history of many dynasties. Here we propose taking stock of all the references to Gurjaras and Gurjara settlements in the pre-Pratihāra and Pratihāra periods only. The references are arranged under three sources—epigraphic, literary and foreign—under the two major headings. Such a classified arrangement would present a clear out account of the history of the Gurjaras from the very beginning up to about the twelfth Century A.D.

GURJARA AND GURJARA COUNTRY.

(a) **Pre-Pratihāra Period.** The earliest reference to the Gurjara country and its people is noticed in Bana's *Harṣa carita*,[5] and the account left by Hiuen Tsang[6]. We have already referred to Bānabhaṭṭa's account which credits Prabhākaravardhana with keeping the Gurjara (evidently the king of this country or tribe) awake. While Bāna does mention the Gurjara country, the Chinese pilgrim takes no notice of his patron's fathers animosity with the Gurjara Lord.

Hiuen Tsang describes[7] Kiu-che-lo as the second kingdom of Western India, 1800 li or 300 miles to the north of Valabhi, and 2800 li or 467 miles to the north-west of Ujjain with its capital Pi-lo-mi-lo or Bhinmal. Further, he distinguishes the Gurjara country from neighbouring kingdoms like Po-lu-kie-che-po (Bharukaccha), Mo-la-po (Mālava), Fa-la-pi (Valabhī), Su-la-ca (Surāṣṭra), and U-sha-ye-na (Ujjayinī). It appears that the Gurjara kingdom at that time comprised Rajputana.

The Aihole inscription[8] of Pulakeśin II, the Cālukya king, mentions the submission of the Lāṭas, Mālavas, and the Gurjaras to the Cālukya emperor with a view to seeking his protection. This record is dated in the Śaka Samvat 556 expired=A.D. 634. It is reasonable to suggest that the Gurjaras referred to in this record must be those of Broach.

1. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 74 ff.; cf. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 99.
2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 55
3. I. A. Vol. X. p. 159.
4. V. O. J. Vol. III p. 9.
5. Op. cit.
6. Beal; Op. Cit. Vol. II pp. 269 ff.
7. Cunningham; Op. cit. p. 234.
8. E. I. Vol. VI pp. 1 ff.

The evidence on record suggests that there were, at least, two kingdoms in this period, one in Rajputana mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, and the other one at Broach. The rulers of the latter kingdom are mentioned as Sāmantas only, and probably they were first owing allegiance to the Kalacuris and later on to the Cālukyas.

(b) **Pratihāra Period.** The evidence for this period is available in inscriptions, both Pratihāra and non-Pratihāra, literature, and the accounts left by the Arab historians. We have already mentioned the references to *Gurjaratrā* in the records of the Pratihāra rulers Bhoja and Kakkuka of the other family. Here we shall take into consideration inscriptions of other rulling families which mention the term Gurjara—implying the Pratihāra king of Kanauj, and the Gurjara Country. The references to the Pratihāra king, addressed as Gurjara, should also settle the controversy raised by some scholars doubting their Gurjara nationality.

(i) *Epigraphic evidence*: The Radhanpur plates[1] of Govinda III refer to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler defeating a coalition of twelve princes, releasing but imprisoning the Ganga, defeating the Gurjara, and subduing the Mālava. Here the names of the countries definitely signify their kings. It is also mentioned in this record that the whereabouts of the Gurjara (evidently of the king) remained a mystery. The Deoli Plate inscription[2] of Kriṣna III mentions Kriṣna II frightening the Gurjara, destroying the pride of the Lāṭa, teaching humility to the Gauḍa, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga, and Magadha. The names of these countries in this record are with reference to their kings. The same facts are stated in the Karhad Plate[3] of the same ruler. 'On hearing of the conquests of all the strongholds in the Southern region, simply by his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gurjara'—evidently the Gurjara King.

The Baroda Copper plate[4] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karka mentions two terms—*Gurjareśvarapati* and *Gurjareśvara*, both being used here in the same sense. In another inscription[5] Mihira Bhoja's army is referred to as that of the Gurjara. Besides referring to the Pratihāra King (of Kanauj) as Gurjara, there are a number of records of this period, which describe their country as Gurjaradeśa. The Ragholi (Balaghat. CP.) Plates[6] of Jayavardhana II of the Śaila family refer to Prithuvardhana, son of King Śrīvardhana who conquered the Gurjara country. On palaeographic grounds the record is assigned to the eighth century A.D.

In the Sañjan Copper Plate of Amoghavarṣa[7], the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Dantidurga is

1. E. I. Vol. VI pp. 239 ff.
2. E. I. Vol. V. pp. 235 ff.
3. E. I. Vol. IV pp. 287 ff.
4. I. A. Vol. XII p. 160.
5. Ibid., p. 181.
6. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 44 ff.; The Śaila King Jayavardhana was separated from Prithuvardhana by four generations—Sauvardhana—one of his sons Jayavardhana I—his son Śrīvardhana II—and his son Jayavardhana II, lord of the whole Vindya, in whose time the record was issued from Śrīvardhanapura.
7. E. I. Vol, XVIII p. 243 V. 9. The date of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler is supplied by his Samangadh Charter dated in the Śaka year 675 (I. A. Vol, XI p. 110). Though the authenticity of this record has been questioned on Palaeographic grounds (I. A. Vol. XIII p. 211 note 5), and for reasons of chronological overlappings, his date would not be far removed from the period assigned to him.

described as being waited upon by kings led by the king of Gurjaradeśa, at the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna* ceremony performed by him at Ujjayini.

In the Badal Pillar Inscription[1] of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, Devapāla, following the wise counsel of Kedāramiśra, is mentioned as eradicating the race of the Utkala, humbling the pride of the Hūṇas, and scattering the conceit of the rulers of Drāviḍa and Gurjara (*Kharvīkṛita Drāviḍa-Gurjjaranātha-darpam*). Here Gurjara definitely refers to the country like the two others Utkala and Drāvida. The Gurjaranātha probably signified the Kanauj ruler.

The Gurgi (Rewah) inscription[2] of Prabhodhaśiva refers to the defeat of a Gurjara king, evidently a king of Kanauj, along with a king of Gauḍa.

The Candella king Yaśovarman is mentioned in the Khajuraho inscription[3] No. II, as carrying on successful wars against the Gaudas, Khaśas, Kośalas, Mithilas, Cedis, Kūrmas, and Gurjaras. In the same reference, the Candella king is described as 'Scorching fire to the Gurjaras' which definitely refers to the clash with the Pratihāra kingdom of Kanauj.

An inscription of the Kalacuri ruler Karnadeva from Goharwa[4] (Allahabad Dist.), records the defeat of the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇdya, Lāṭa, Gurjara, and Kaśmīra at the hands of Lakṣamaṇarājadeva. This record is dated in the year 1047 A.D. in the time of Karṇadeva who was removed from Laksamaṇarāja by four generations. So the latter's time could be fixed near about A.D. 950. This reference also points to the clash with the kingdom of Kanauj.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions furnish interesting information regarding the position of the Gurjara rulers (Evidently Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj) of Northern India, and the states contiguous to their empire. In the Sirur inscription[5] of the time of Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 866) there is a reference to Prabhūtavarṣa Govinda III having fettered the people of Kerala, Mālava, and Sauta (Gauda in the Nilgund inscription), and together with the Gurjaras those who dwelt in the hill fort of Citrakūṭa (Rajputana). The Nilgund inscription[6] contains practically the same facts except the name Gauḍa for Sauta. It seems that this Citrakūṭa lay between the territories of the Gurjara Pratihāras of Kanauj and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and neither side was prepared to give way. The Gurjara king had an eye on it, as well as on Kālañjar, as we find in the Deoli Plate of Kriṣṇa, but the hope faded with the angry glance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kriṣṇa II.[7] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa fight with the Gurjaras seems to have attained proverbial fame.

1. E. I. Vol. II pp; 160 ff.
2. E. I. Vol. XXII pp. 121 ff.
3. E. I. Vol. I pp. 123 ff.
4. E. I. Vol. XI pp. 142 ff.
5. E. I. Vol. VII pp. 203 ff.
6. E. I. Vol. VI pp. 106 ff.
7. It is mentioned in the two grants of Indrarāja III from Baroda dated in S. 836, that Krisnarāja's (II) fight with the roaring Gurjara was remembered by old men on a cloudy day with a heavy downpour of rain. (E. I. Vol. IX p. 27).

(b) The literary evidence on this subject is practically blank except for the passage in the Jain *Harivaṁsa*[1] and a reference in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The former mentions the name of Vatsa = Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra family—as king of Avanti, and a contemporary of Dhruva, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of the Deccan (called in this stanza Sri Vallabhir of the South). The work was complated in the Śaka Samvat 705 expired = A.D. 783-84, at Wandhyan in the Jhalvad division of Gujarat. The passage from the Jain Harivaṁśa may be regarded as strengthening the inference that the Pratihāras were established at Ujjayinī before they migrated to Kanauj.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers[2] to Śaṅkaravarman, the king of Kaśmīra defeating Alakhana, the king of Gurjara, who gave up to him humbly the Takkaland preserving (thereby) his own country as (if he had saved) his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger. This Gurjara ruler had nothing to do with the Imperial line of Kanauj.

Arabic Sources :—Among the Mohammadan geographers, the merchant Sulaiman ranks first, and the earliest writer with his *Salsilatu-t-tawārīkh*[3] (237 A.H. = A.D. 851) which was completed by Abu Zaidu-l-Hasan of Siraf, a connoisseur. The latter had never travelled in India and China, as he admits, but had made it his business to modify and complete the work of Sulaiman, by reading, and by questioning travellers to those countries. Masūdi met this Abu Zaid at Basra in 303 A.H. = A.D. 916, and acknowledges to have derived information from him some of which he reproduced in his " Meadows of Gold" (*Muruju-l-Zahab*)[4]. Al-Masūdi, a native of Bagdad, had visited India and many other places more than once. Describing the state of nations and countries of the East and the West, as they were in his age (330 or 332 A.H. = A.D. 932), he became "through his work the prototype of all historians to whom they refer, and whose authority they rely in the critical estimate of many facts which they form the subject of their labours."[5] Three other Muslim historians—Ibn Khurdādbh, writer of *Kitābu-l Masālik Wa-l Māmalik*[6], (died in 300 A.H. = A.D. 912); Al Bilāduri, author of *Futuhu-l-Buldān*[7] (died in A.H. 279 = A.D. 892-3); and Al-Idrisi who was born towards the end of the eleventh century A.D., and wrote *Nuzhatu-l-Mushtāk*,[8] had no occasion to visit India, but they have mentioned the political state in that period. They are unanimous with reference to the king of Jurz or Juzr who was antagonistic towards Balhara and Islam. Balhara was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, with his capital at Mankir, mentioned by Al-Masūdi, which is rightly identified with Mānyakheta of the inscriptions,[9] the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Sulaiman describes the king of Jurz having great riches, and with numerous camels and horses. Abu Zaid mentions diviners and jugglers who performed most astonishing feats. These observations were specially applicable to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jurz.

1. I. A. Vol. XV p. 141
2. Book V. pp. 148-155
3. Elliot and Dowson; History of India, Vol. I pp. 1 ff.
4. Ibid, pp. 18 ff.
5. Sprenger's: Masūdi, Preface, p. 19
6. ibid., pp. 12 ff.
7. Ibid., pp. 113 ff.
8. ibid., pp. 74 ff.
9. Kielhorn: List of Southern Inscriptions nos. 74, 91-94, 105.

There seems no conflict in the accounts of these Arab historians with reference to Jurz or Juzr, and Kanauj was intimately connected with it. Al Masūdi describes the king of Kanauj as one of the kings of Sind, with the title Bauura—common to all kings of Kanauj. He also mentions a city called Bauura, named after its princes, then in the territories of Islam, and a dependency of Multan. Masūdi also mentions that the kingdom of Bauura, king of Kanauj, extended about one hundred and twenty square parasangs Sind, each parasang being equal to eight miles. The King had four armies, each numbering seven to nine hundred thousand men. The army of the north was stationed against the prince of Multan, and with the Musulmans, his subjects, on the frontier. The two others were for emergency, moving in every direction. This account seems to refer to the period when the Kanauj empire was at the height of its glory under Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I, extending up to Kathiawar in the west, and including some portion of the Arab possessions in India. Jurz or Juzr is evidently the transcribed form of Gurjara, denoting the country, and sometimes its king also. Sulaiman's reference to the king of Jurz maintaining numerous forces, with an unmatched fine cavalry, and his numerous camels[1] is very interesting. Rajputana is famous for its camels even now, and we learn from the Pehoa inscription[2] of Mahendrapāla that horse dealers assembled at that particular place. The accounts of these Arab historians, and the references to Jurz or Juzr apply to the Pratihāra kingdom of Kanauj.

Gurjara Pratihāras :—It has been proposed by some scholars[3] that the Pratihāras and the Gurjaras were two distinct peoples and the former were in no way related to the latter. This view was first proposed by Dr. Ganguly and later on endorsed by Mr. Haldar and others. Dr. Ganguly obscures his meaning by needless and clumsy inversion of words. Thus, he interprets the expression 'Gurjara-Pratihāra' in the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva to mean 'the Pratihāra family of the Gurjara country', and not the 'Pratihāra clan of the Gurjara tribe', as translated by others. He later changes his position by arguing that even if the term Gurjara in this connection is taken to have referred to the tribe, the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāra cannot be definitely proved. It can very well be taken to mean that Mathanadeva's father belonged to the family Gurjara tribe, and his mother was a member of the Pratihāra family. Again, his attempt to show that the references to Gurjaras or Gurjara kings do not apply to the Pratihāras only suggest that he approaches the problem with a view to maintain a particular thesis, as Dr. Majumdar rightly suggests.[4] In reply to these arguments it can be pointed out that the references to Gurjaras in the Rāṣṭrakūta records definitely apply to the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj, as for example, in the Deoli and Karhad Plates the claim to Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa could only refer to the aspirations of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings of Kanauj who alone could have taken up cudgels against the Raṣṭrakūṭas. Similarly the *Gurjareśvara* in the Baroda Plate, who defeated the lord of Gauda

1. From a story in the *Pañcatantra*, it appears that there was a place called Gurjaragrāma where camels could be purchased. The rathakāra is mentioned as having, gone to a Gurjara village in search for camels. (*tatas'= ca drammānādāya Gurjaragrāme gatvā Karbbāb samkritāb* (tantra IV. Kathā 14 Kielhorn's edition IV & V p. 32). In Kosegarten's edition, the Gurjara country is also mentioned (p. 229). In the same Kathā the camel is also called *Daśeraka*, and it is likely that the name is given after the country called Daśeraka.
2. E. I. Vol. 1 pp. 186 ff.
3. I.H.Q. Vol. X 337 ; ibid. p. 613 ibid. XI. p. 167 ; I.A. Vol. LVII (1928) p. 181 ; I.H.Q. Vol. XIII p. 137 ;
4. Bhārtīya Vidyā. Vol. X 9 ff.

and Vaṅga was Nâgabhaṭa II of Kanauj. The *Pampābhārata* also calls the Imperial Pratihāra king Mahipāla as Gurjararāja.[1] Mr. Sharma further attempts to distinguish the Pratihāras of Kanauj from the Jodhpur Pratihāras, and splits the latter into two. He also postulates the existence of atleast five Pratihāra clans. On this point one can venture to say *non sequitur*. At the same time we can not agree with Ojha supported by Haldar and Sharma, that there were different clans or castes called Pratihāra who all derived their title from the occupation of their ancestors as 'Door-Keepers'[2] (Pratihāra). It is, however, clear that the family of Harichandra shared in common with the Kanauj branch the tradition that they both were descended from Lakṣmana, brother of Rama, to whom he served as a 'Door Keeper'. There is, thus, no point in distinguishing the two. Mathanadeva seemed to have belonged to the same tribe; probably he was a scion of the Kanauj house.

(i) **The Distribution of the Gujars** :—The Geographical distribution of the present Gujars or Gurjaras with particular reference to the Punjab, North-Western Frontier Province, United Provinces and Rajputana, should be helpful in suggesting the trend of the Gujar migration. The study here is based on the Census of 1881 and 1891, as, within the last seventy years, considerable changes are likely to have taken place affecting the migration of the people from one region to the other. When Cunningham wrote,[3] the Gujars were found in every part of North West India, from the Indus to the Ganges, and from Hazara mountains to the Peninsula. They were specially numerous along the banks of the upper Jumna near Jagadhri and Buriya, and in the Saharanpur District which during the 18th century, was actually called Gujarat. To the east they occupied the petty state of Samptar in Bundelkhand, and one of the northern districts of Gwalior which was till then called Gujargar. They were found scattered throughout eastern Rajputana and Gwalior, but they were more numerous in the western states especially towards Gujarat. In southern Punjab they were thinly scattered but their number increased rapidly towards the north where they gave their names to several places, such as Gujranwala in the Rechna Doab, Gujarat in the Chaj Doab, and Gujar Khan in the Sindh Sagar Doab. They were numerous about Jhelum and Hasan Abdal, and throughout the Hazara Districts of Chitral, Kohli, and Palas, to the east of the Indus and in the contiguous districts to the west of the river. The position regarding the distribution of the Gujars, as suggested by Cunningham, may be compared with the actual figures (above 10,000) from the Census reports of 1881 and 1891 (in certain cases) in Geographical order.

PUNJAB AND NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER :

1.	Attock	..	12,000 (important agricultural class)
2.	Ferozpur	..	14,000
3.	Gujrat	..	1,11,000 (or 15% of the population)
4.	Gurdaspur	..	49,000

1. Bom. Gaz Vol. I pt. I pp. 465-69.
2. The term *Pratihāra* is noticed in several records, and so also the higher office of the *Mahapratihāra* (E.I. Vol. XV. p. 283 ; Vol. XIX. p. 135 ; Vol. XVIII. p. 311). It is also distinguished from the *Dvārapala* (Bhandarkar's List No. 2058). In dramas the duty of the Pratihāra is described as clearing the passage for the King (Raghu. VI. 20 ; Kumār III 58).
3. A.S.R. Vol. II p. 71.

5.	Hazara	..	92,000 with a dialect of their own called Gujuri
6.	Hoshiarpur	..	75,000
7.	Jullandhar	..	20,000
8.	Karnal	..	30,000
9.	Kashmir	..	1,25,000
10.	Jammu	..	1,51,000
11.	Ludhiana	..	33,000
12.	Peshawar	..	16,000 (agriculturists)
13.	Punjab (Whole)	..	6,32,000 (essentially a pastoral tribe found mainly in the lower Himalaya)
14.	Rawalpindi	..	26,000
15.	Sialkot	..	10,000
16.	Gurgaon	..	25,000

UNITED PROVINCES AND DELHI :

1.	Delhi	..	28,000
2.	Muzaffarnagar	..	31,000 (27,856 Hindus, and 13,239 Moslems, 1891 Census)
3.	Rai Bareli	..	13,000 (Moslems 11,959, according to 1891 Census)
4.	Bulandsahar	..	46,632 (all Hindus), 1891 Census.
5.	Meerut	..	69,387 (only 65 Moslems, 1891 Census)
6.	Aligarh	..	11,397 (only 11 Moslems ,, ,,)
7.	Moradabad	..	11,499 (practically all Hindus, 1891 Census)
8.	Saharanpur	..	75,507 (51,053 Hindus, 18,452 Moslems, 1891 Census)
9.	Farrukhabad	..	83 Hindus, 28 Moslems

RAJPUTANA, CENTRAL INDIA AND CENTRAL PROVINCES :

1.	Bundi	..	18,000
2.	Malwa	..	1,67,179
3.	Dholpur	..	21,000
4.	Gwalior	..	10,700 (Graziers and cultivators)
5.	Indore	..	28,000 (3% of the population)
6.	Jaipur	..	1,84,000 (cattle breeders and agriculturists)
7.	Jhalwar	..	(cattle breeders and dealers, and agriculturists each between 4 and 5 per cent)
8.	Karauli (Eastern Rajputana)	..	16,000 (noted cattle lifters and fair agriculturists)
9.	Hoshangabad	..	22,000 (important cultivating class)

10. Kotah	..	35,000 (cattle breeders and dealers, and agriculturists)
11. Haimar (Nerbuda, C. P.)	..	20,000
12. Fonk (Rajputana)	..	13,000 (forming 13% of the population)
13. Rajputana (Total)	..	4,62,739 (cattle breeders and dealers and agriculturists)

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY AND GUJRAT:

1. Cutch	..	16,517 (two divisions, one composed of Chaudas, Solankis, and Vaghelas, representing the ruling class of Anahilvada, the other supposed to have settled in Cutch when it was under Anahilvada)

In other districts Gurjaras called Vanis are found in small numbers here and there (Bombay Gazetteer Vol. XVI p. 46).

It appears from the distribution of the Gujars that they are very prominent in Gujarat (Punjab), forming 15% of the population, Hazara, Hoshiarpur, Kashmir, Jammu, Ludhiana, Rawalpindi, Gurgaon, and Karnal where they number 20,000 or more. In the United Provinces they are prominent in Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, Meerut, and Bulandsahr; and so also in Malwa, Dholpur, Indore, Jaipur, Hoshangabad, Kotah and Naimar (Narbada) and Cutch. There is no reference to Kanauj. According to the 1891 Census, in the whole of the Farrukkabad District, which includes Kanauj, the number of Hindu Gujars was 83, and Moslems 28. If the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj belonged to a foreign Gurjara tribe representing Kazars, it is but natural to presume that they must have planted colonies of their brethern at Mahodaya, and, despite the passage of time, one could easily find some remnants of the old tribe in the local population. This attempt on the part of the Gujars was quite a normal thing. There is an epigraphic reference[1] to the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore planting a considerable colony of the Maratha and Gurjara Brāhmaṇas in the Tanjore District. The Gujars are prominent in western and south-western districts of the United Provinces Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut and Bulandsahr districts and not in the eastern districts. This rebuts the possibility of any foreign pressure from the west resulting in the Gurjara migration to the east. Actually we can presume Gurjara migration in the other direction.

(ii) **Gujurī, Mevātī and Kanaujī**:—According to Grierson, in the mountain to the north-west of Punjab, that is throughout the hill country of Muree, Jammu, Chitral Hazara, in the wild territory lying to the north of Peshawar as far as the Swat river, and also in the hills of Kashmir, there are numerous descendants of Gujars following their pastoral associations. There they are called 'Gujurs (not Gujar) and tend cows. The Gujurs, while generally able to speak the language; or the *lingua franca* of the country, they occupy, have a distinct language called Gujurī, varying but little from place to place,

1. E.I. Vol. XVI p. 360.

closely connected with the Mevātī dialect of Rajasthan[1]. According to the 1881 Census, 17,696 persons, mostly in Hazara returned their language as Gujurī or the language of the hill herdsmen.[2] In Kashmir in 1901 the number of speakers of Gujurī was returned as 126, 849, and at Hazara in 1891[3] 83,167. The Vocabulary is freely interloaded with words borrowed from Pushto-Kashmiri, but the grammar is practically identical with that of Mewat, and closely allied to that of Mewārī. The existence of a form of Mevātī or Mewārī in the distant country of Swat, is a fact which has given rise to some speculation. According to Grierson,[4] once again, *there is one sect of Chauhan amongst those* Gujars. This dialect may be described as one compact from the Eastern Rājasthānī extending along the lower hills from about the longitude of Chamba through Garhwal and Kumaon into western Nepal. The question is raised : Why do certain tribes of the lower Himalayas in Swat and also from Chamba to western Nepal speak dialects allied to Eastern Rājasthānī, and especially to Mevātī although they are divided from eastern Rajputana by hundreds of miles in which distant languages are spoken? The answer to this question would come out if we presume, and rightly too, that the Gurjara migration was from east to west and not vice-versa. If they had come from the other direction there was no point for them to leave the fertile and rich plains of the Punjab and proceed towards the arid regions of Rajputana. Further, there would not have been any affinity between the two dialects separated from each other by nearly a thousand miles. One can understand that the Gujurī in the Swat and *Hazara districts was free from extraneous circumstances, but what about the other* dialect which could never have maintained its chaste character after an interval of over a thousand years.

Moreover, there are popular traditions ascribing the foundation of the cities in the Punjab with *Gujar prefix* to persons coming from Rajputana.[5] The Moughal sources[6] suggest that the Gujars had not lost their barbaric spirit, nor given up their corrupt practices even till the end of the sixteenth century A.D. It is, therefore, reasonable to presume on ethnological and linguistic grounds as well that Rajputana was the original

1. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX pt. IV p. 10.
2. Maclagen ; Census of India, Vol. XIX p. 266.
3. I.A. Vol. XLIII p. 143—Grierson, 'The Pahari Language'.
4. Op. cit, p. 10.
5. According to the popular tradition, the foundation of the town of Gujarat could be assigned to Raja Bachanpal, a Surajbansi Rajput who came from the Gangetic doab. (See Rose ; Glossary of the Tribes and castes of the Punjab and the N.W.P. Vol. I p. 306 ff.) In the *Wāki-at-i-Jahāngirī*, the Moughal Emperor records that when Emperor Akbar was proceeding to Kashmir he built a fort on the other side of the river, and made the Gujars who had been hitherto devoted to plunder, dwell here. This place was consequently named Gujarat and formed into a separate Pargana (Elliot and Dowson : History of India Vol. VI p. 303).
6. Babar has referred to Gujar settlements in the hill country between Nilab (15 miles below Attock) and adjoining to the hill country of Kashmir (*Bābarnāmā*, Vol. II p. 102). Further, on his arrival at Sialkot, he noticed the Jats and Gujars regularly pouring down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds in order to carry away oxen and buffaloes (ibid., p. 163). Sher Shah, too, had some bitter experience from the Gujars. While he was so occupied in building Delhi, the thieves of Pali and Polial, who were of Gujar tribe, began to be exceedingly audacious in their depredations, in so much that he left orders that they should be expelled from that country. (Elliot and Dowson ; History of India, Vol. IV p. 477).

home of the Gurjaras, and it was from here that they emigrated[1] in different directions and in different periods. They could keep up their native dialect, when free from foreign influence.

Conclusion :—We have taken into consideration the entire evidence—epigraphic, literary, foreign, ethnological and linguistic,—with a view to suggesting the Indian origin of the Gurjaras. This native tribe was living in obscurity near about the Mount Ābu in Rajputana which mountain figures prominently in the history of many dynasties, including this one. Further, there were more than one Gurjara settlements, and the boundaries of the country called Gurjaratrā were never uniform. During succeeding periods, this term connoted different regions, and finally modern Gujarat, corresponding to the old kingdom founded by Mūlrāja at Aṇahillavaḍ (Patan), was so named. The Pratihāra family of Kanauj was Gurjara by origin. This fact is not mentioned in their records, but many contemporary ones call the rulers of Kanauj by this family name. There were atleast two or more Gurjara-Pratihāra families, the earliest one existed in the time of Harichandra Rohilladdhi of which he was the preceptor. Any attempt to doubt the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāra family of Kanauj would be contrary to the evidence provided by the records. The Gurjaras were very enterprising, and they emigrated from their original home in the Mount Ābu region in two directions—in the north they went as far as the distant country of Swat, and in the south-west they reached Broach and Kathiawar. Though they were not successful in establishing any kingdom in the north-west, a few towns with *Gujar* prefix were founded by them. The history of this tribe centres round the two important families of Mandor and Kanauj– the latter playing a very important role in the political history of Northern India for a couple of centuries.

1. Grierson suggests that the Gujars etc. of the lower Himalayas who now speak forms of Rājasthānī are in large measure the same stock as many Rajput clans in Rajputana, the Punjab and the United Provinces ; that their ancestors emigrated from Rajputana after they had acquired the Rājasthānī speech, and that the most likely time for such emigration is the ninth century when the Gujara-Rajput power dominated all northern and north-western India, with its capital at Kanauj—loc. cit. p. 12. According to a tradition preserved in the *Paṭṭāvalī* of Upakesa Gaccha, (I.A. Vol. XIX p. 236), and quoted in the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. I pt. I p. 469) there was a migration of 18,000 Gurjaras from Bhinmal to Dhulipur (i.e. Delhi). This event is supposed to have taken place in the time of Bhīmasena in A.D. 953. The memory of this movement remains in the traditions of the Gurjaras of Khandesh into which they passed with their carts in large numbers by way of Malwa (Khandesh Gazetteer XII 39). While these traditions, independently, are of little value, the migrations of merchants in that period was quite a normal feature. The Ahar inscription mentions the migration of Bhadraprakāśa from Bhillamal to Taddanandapur (E.I. Vol. XIX p. 54.)

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF HARICANDRA

The inscriptions of this period mention two separate families—both called Pratihāra ; but one traces its origin to Haricandra, and the other to Nāgabhaṭa. The same traditional account of their origin, and identical names, like Kakkuka, Nāgabhaṭa and Bhoja as kings in both the families, suggest some affinity between the two. It will, however, appear that the former became in course of time the feudatory of the latter. The history of the family of Haricandra is annaled in two inscriptions—namely, the Jodhpur inscription[1] of Bāuka, and the Ghaṭiyālā inscription[2] of Kakkuka. The lists of kings of this family are identical in both the records, except for the last rulers who are different, and a few minor variations in the spelling of names. Both Bāukā and Kakkuka claim descent from the same father Kakka, but through different mothers. Bāuka's mother was queen (rājñī) Padminī of the Bhaṭṭi clan, and that of his step-brother was (rājñī) Durlabhādevī. It appears that after Bāuka, Kakkuka ascended the throne. As the Ghaṭiyālā inscription was found at a distance of only twenty-two miles west north west of Jodhpur, the question of a division of this kingdom, however small it might have been, is ruled out. These two records also furnish information about the political events connected with this family. Here we propose considering the history of the Mandor line, confining our study to the following observations : traditional account of its origin, location, genealogy, identification of Kiu-che-lo, relations of the Mandor family with the Pratihāras of Kanauj, Cālukyas, and the Gurjaras of Broach, and finally the decline of this family.

Traditional account of its origin : The origin of this family of Haricandra is traced to the brother of Rāmabhadra (evidently Rāma of the epic fame) who performed the duty of door-keeper (*svabhrāttrā Rāmabhadrasya prātihāryam kritam yataḥ | Śrī pratihāryamśo=yam=ataś=c=onnatim=āpnuyat*). It is further mentioned in the Jodhpur record that there was an illustrious Brāhmana named Haricandra Rohilladdhi who was well-versed in the meaning of the Vedas and the Śāstras, and was a preceptor like Prajāpati (*babhūva Rōhilladdhyaṅko Veda-Śāstr-ārtha-pāragab dvijaḥ Śrī Haricandra-ākhyaḥ Prajāpati-samo guruḥ* (V. 6). He at first married the daughter of a Brahmana, and took as second wife the Kṣatriyā Bhadrā from a noble family, and possessed of good qualities (*tena Śrī Haricandrena pariṇītā dvij=ātmajā dvitiyā ksatriyā Bhadrā mahā-kula-gun āmvitā*. V. 7). The sons born of the Brāhmaṇa wife were Pratihāra Brāhmanas, and those of queen Bhadrā were drinkers of wine. (*Prātihārā dvijā bhūtā Brāhmaṇyām ye bhavāmt=sutāb. Rājñī Bhadrā ca yāmt=sūtē te bhūtā madhupāyināḥ*. V. 8).

According to the Ghaṭiyālā inscription, Haricandra was the preceptor of the Pratihāra family (*āsīt pratīhāra-vamśaguru sadvijab Śrī Haricandra*. 1. 1). His marriage

1. E. I. Vol. XVIII pp. 87 ff.

2. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 277 ff ; J.R.A.S. 1895 p. 516.

with the Kṣatriyā lady Bhadrā is also mentioned in this record, and a son Rajjila was born to them (*anena rājñī kṣatriyā-Bhadrāyā jātah śrīmān-sutaḥ Śrī Rajjilaḥ*. 11. 2-3). It is rather strange that in the Jodhpur inscription there is no reference to the name of the family of Bāuka, and his ancestors are called 'drinkers of wine.'[1], probably not as an epithet of contempt. It simply suggests that they were Kṣatriyas who could take wine. In inscription No. II from Ghaṭiyālā Kakkuka's Pratihāra ancestry is mentioned. It is clear that Haricandra was also a Pratihāra who had no pretension for kingship, but his sons from his Kṣatriyā wife Bhadrā could not check their veneer for power. The four sons conquered the fort of Māṇḍavyapura (Maṇḍor) by their own arms, and erected a high rampart (which was) calculated to increase the fear of the enemies (*Māṇḍavyapura-durggē='sminn=ebhir=nnija=bhuja-ārjite/prakāraḥ kārita-s=tuṅgo vidviṣām-bhiti-vardhanaḥ*. V. 10). It was, thus, as a result of the joint efforts of all the four brothers that they conquered the fort of Maṇḍor and made defensive arrangements. The fruits were probably enjoyed by Rajjila alone, mentioned in the Ghaṭiyālā inscription, even though he was third in the line, and the pedigree is traced through him.

Location of the Kingdom : There is no reference to their original home, nor is there any account of the events happening in the time of Haricandra. Their position before the capture of Mandor is unknown.

In this connection reference may be made to the Vasantgarh (Sirohi State, Rajputana), now Ajmere Museum, Inscription[2] of the time of Varmalāta and his feudatory Rājjila. This inscription mentions Vajrabhaṭa-Satyāśraya who protected Arbuda (Mount Ābu) as Varmalāta's feudatory. Satyāśraya's son was, Rājjila with his capital at Vata. This record is dated in the V. S. 682=A.D. 625. It might be tempting to identify Rajjila of the Haricandra line with Rājjila, son of Vajrabhata Satyāśraya, for name sake and also because the time probably coincides. In that case we could fix the original seat of this family at Mount Ābu with the capital at Vata—identified with Vasantgarh, 5 miles to the south of Pindwara, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Sirohi State, but there are certain difficulties which are insurmountable. The names of their fathers differ, and Vajrabhaṭa's caste is not mentioned. We might point out that the names *Tatā* (Tāta), *Bapaka* (Bāuka) and those ending in *bhaṭa* do suggest some affinity between the two families, but their identity cannot be established. It may, however, be reasonable to presume that Rajjila had royal blood running in his veins from the maternal side. It was probably through the help from his mother's family, that Rajjila and his brothers could conquer Maṇḍor and keep a firm hold over there.

When this family was firmly seated at Maṇḍor and there was no chance of any disturbance, Nāgabhaṭa, the fourth ruler in this line, transferred his capital permanently to the great city of Medāntaka or Merta (*tasmān=(Narabha) ṭāj=jātaḥ-śrimān=Nāgabhaṭaḥ sutaḥ rājadhānī sthirā yasya mahān=Meḍāntakampuram*), about 60 miles north east of Maṇḍor, if the distance is measured in a straight line. This shifting of the metropolis was probably for administrative reasons. This did not minimise the importance of Mandor, as we find Tāta, the next ruler, retiring to the pious hermitage of Māṇḍavya, adorned

1. Ref. Elliot and Dowson. Vol. I. p. 49. According to the Arab historian the Brhamins abstained from wine.

2. Nachrichten—Gottingen 1906 Heft 2, pp. 1 ff.; E. I. Vol. IX p. 191.

with rivers and streams, and practising there the rites of pure religion (*Svayamñ=ca samsthitas=Tātah śuddham dharmma(m) samācaran| Māṇḍavyasya=āśramē puṇyē nadī=nirjhara-śobhite ||*) (v. 15). The family was gaining prominence, and its prowess was felt among the neighbouring states. We also learn that Śiluka, the tenth ruler, fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of Stravaṇi and Valla (*yena sīmā kritā nityā Stravaṇi-Valla-deśayōḥ*) (v. 18). This expression might imply that Śiluka defeated the kings of both Stravani and Valla. It is clear from the next verse that Bhaṭṭika Devarāja of the Valla-maṇḍala was knocked down by Śiluka and the former had to part with the ensign of the umbrella (*Bhaṭṭikam Devarājam yo Vallamaṇḍal-pālakam nipātya ta (tkṣa) ṇam bhūmau prāptavānchatra cihnakam* (v. 19). According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar[1], the epithet *Vallamaṇḍala-pālaka* should be attributed to Śiluka, and he was the recognised head of the confederacy of states. We, however, differ from him. The verse in this question is very explicit on this point, and one would have been agreed with him if *nipātya* had immediately followed *Bhaṭṭikam Devarājam*. Further, there is no point in identifying this Bhaṭṭika Devarāja with the father of Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra family, as was earlier suggested by Dr. Majumdar—probably he does not press it now—because the other family ruled at Avanti in the east and not at Stravaṇi in the west. We, however, agree with the learned Professor that Stravaṇi might be identified with Taban of the Arab writers, and be placed in the modern Jaisalmer State in Rajputana.

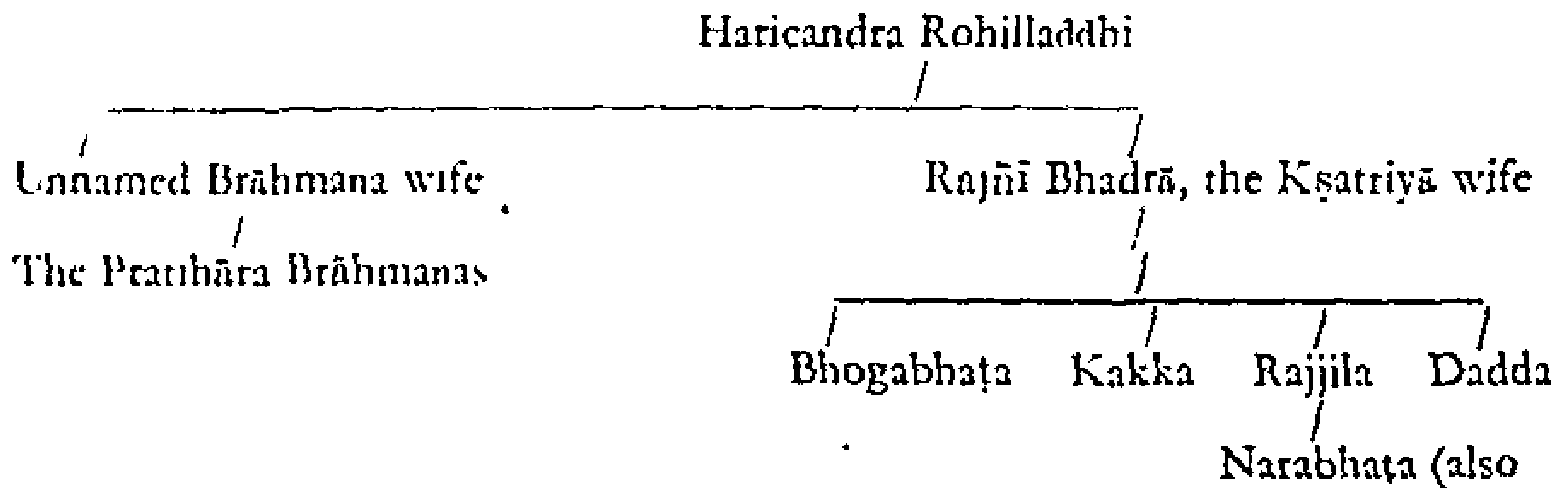
The references to these places, and a few others mentioned in the Ghaṭiyālā inscription, would be helpful in defining the limits of this kingdom. The Ghaṭiyālā inscription is more informative on this point. Kakkuka, son of Kakka from the Queen Durlabhādevī, is said to have attained fame in Travaṇi, Valla, Māḍa, Ārya, Gurjaratrā, Lāṭa and Parvata. The second inscription from Ghaṭiyāla—called Rohimsakūpa or Rohinsakūpa, mentions the king establishing a market at a place previously deserted by the people for fear of the Ābhiras. (*Rohinsakūpagrāmaḥ pūrvam=āsīd=anāśrayaḥ | asevyah sādhu-lokānām Ābhīrajanadāruṇaḥ ||* (11. 2).

On the basis of the references in the two records, it appears that the kingdom of the Haricandra's family centred round Meḍāntaka (Merta), and Māṇḍavyapura, (Maṇḍor), and very probably its prowess was felt in the surrounding kingdoms known as Travani[2]

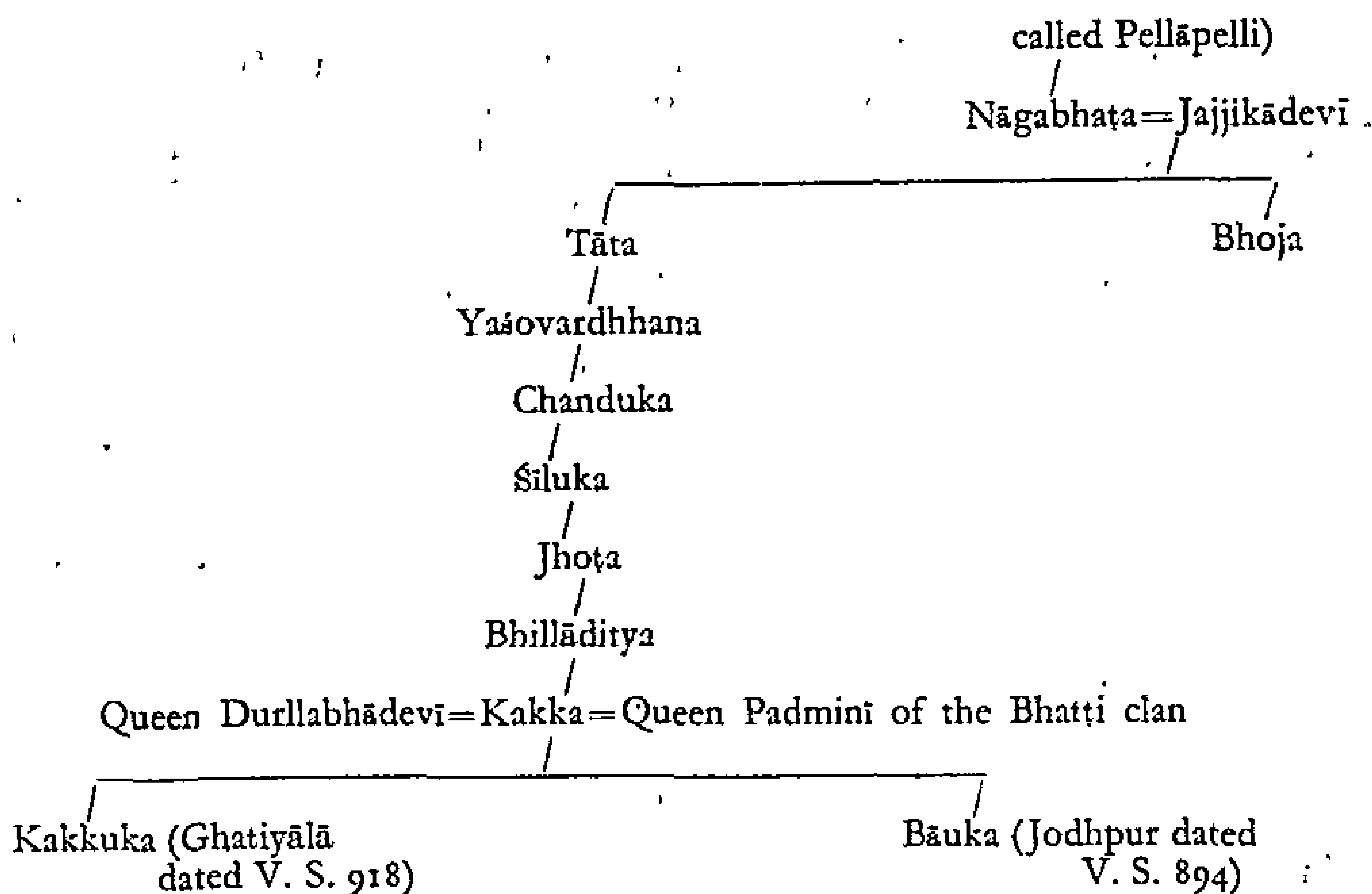
1. E.I. Vol. XVIII p. 93 ; In a recent article, Prof Mirashi refers to the Dhuler Copper-plate grant to the Bhaṭika era, along with a few other inscriptions, found in Rājputana and the adjoining country, such as the Kot inscription dated in the year 40, Tasa inscription (Alwar State) dated in the year 182, and Udaipur Museum inscription dated in the year 207, which are usually referred to the Harsa era (Bhandarkar's List nos. 1391, 1405, and Annual Report of the Rājputana Museum for 1919-20, p. 2; cf. also Ojha : History of Rājputana (Hindi) Vol. I. p. 161). He suggests that the Hund inscription is also in the same era. He concludes that 'as an era generally spreads with the extension of political power, it may not be wrong to infer that there was a great kingdom flourishing in Rajputana and the adjoining territory in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. which was founded by an ancestor of Mahārāja Bhaṭi in circa A.D. 623.' (I. H.Q. Vol. XXXIX p. 193). The Jodhpur inscription clearly suggests that there was a *valla-maṇḍala* under Devarāja and it may be identified with the Mandal of the Arab historians. (Elliot and Dowson. History of India Vol. I. p. 126).
2. Rājaśekhara locates this Janapada in Western India, closely associated with Surāṣṭra. The people of both these countries could speak Sanskrit fluently with an Apabhraṁśa dialect (*Surāṣṭra-Travaṇādyā ye pathanty-arpita-saustavam Apbhraṁśa-vadamsāni te samskrita-vacāms-api* (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā* p. 34). Ojha suggests Malani district, comprising the south-western part of Jodhpur, north of Surāṣṭra, as ancient Travaṇi. (Nāgarī Prācariṇī Patrikā Vol. II p. 331). We have already suggested a stravana identification with Talan in the Jaisalmer State.

(Stravani), Valla,[1] Māda,[2] Ārya,[3] Gurjjaratrā,[4] Lāṭa,[5] and Parvata.[6] There is not the slightest evidence in any of these two records suggesting the hold of this Pratihāra family over any of these kingdoms. Taking, for instance, the case of Gurjaratrā, it has been suggested by some scholars[7] that Bhoja lost the province of Gurjaratrā between A.D. 843 (V.S. 900 of the Daulatpur record), and A.D. 861 (V.S. 918 of the Ghaṭiyāla inscription), but it may be pointed out that the attainmént of fame need not be inconsistence with the exercise of authority over a particular region. If that proposition is accepted, we would find Kakka's empire extending as far as Mudgagiri (Monghyr) in Bihar where he gained fame in battle against the Gauḍa ruler (*Yaśo Mudgagirau labdham yena Gauḍai (Gauḍaih) samam rane* v. 24.) We shall again consider this point when reviewing the relations between the two Pratihāra families. For the present it may be suggested that this kingdom, located in the Jodhpur State, covered an extensive area, about 40 miles to the north-west, and 60 miles to the north-east of Jodhpur, and it abutted on the borders of the other kingdoms mentioned in the Ghaṭiyālā inscription.

Genealogy. The genealogy of kings as given in the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, is as follows :



1. We have already discussed the position of *Valla*—corresponding to Valla-mandala of which Devarāja was the Pālaka.
2. Māda is not mentioned by Rājaśekhara in the list of Jana-padas of Western India, but it corresponds to Jaisalmer, where, according to Ojha, the ladies still sing the *rāgamāda*. (op. cit.). The location of this State in the extreme west in close proximity to Arab state is also noticed in the account of Bilādūri who mentions that Junaid sent his officers to Marmad Mandal Barus and other places, and conquered Bailamanand Jurz. (Elliot and Dowson, Op. cit.). If we closely follow the route we should find the Arabs penetrating first into Jaisalmer, followed by western Jodhpur—and finally they headed towards Broach. In the Māta-ki-sāl inscription Māda is conjoined with Maru (Maru-Māda) and it might stand for Marwar in general. (Cf. Wilson, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Translation Vol. II p. 169 ; IV. p. 222).
3. Ārya—This term evidently stands for Āryāvarta, and it was used in a comprehensive sense, and indeed as the area denoted by Madhyadeśa. (Ref. Manu. II. 21-22). The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire did extend as far as Kathiawar, and it only sugeests that Bāuka was noted for his chivalry in the whole of Northern India
4. The boundaries of Gurjaratrā were never uniform. They varied in different periods according to the usage of the term
5. Lāṭa is also mentioned by Rājaśekhara as a Janapada in western India. Originally it was a small territory, bounded on the north by the river Kim, and in the south by the Dāmangangā. It was distinct from Broach.
6. This country is unidentified
7. I I Vol XVIII p 94



The Ghaṭiyālā Inscription excludes the names of the three other sons of Haricandra, and mentions only Rajjilla. Similarly, there is no reference to Bhoja, brother of Tāta. Further, the name of the step-brother of Bāuka, son of Kakka by Queen Padminī, is also ignored though he seems to have preceded him. In two cases the names are slightly modified such as Silluka for Śiluka, and Bhilluka for Bhillāditya. In all, there were 14 rulers from Haricandra to Kakkuka including Tāta and Bauka, the collaterals whose names are omitted in the Ghaṭiyālā inscriptions. It would, therefore, mean 12 (twelve) generations only. The dates of Bāuka and Kakkuka are given in their records (V. 894 and V. 918 respectively), and it is only by deduction that it may be possible to suggest the probable date of Haricandra's accession, and the beginning of this dynasty. Three rulers in his family—Tāta, Śiluka and Bhillāditya were of religious temperament and left the kingdom. Tāta realising that the world was evanescent as lightning (*Lokasya vidyuc=caṁcalājīvitam*) conferred the kingdom on his younger brother Bhoja, and retired to the hermitage of Māndavya, adorned with rivers and streams, and practised there the rites of pure religion. His son was possibly too young at that time, and so the brother ruled till Yaśovardhana had attained majority. Bhoja's reign is recorded as uneventful, and there is no reference to his son. Jhoṭa, son of Śilluka, proceeded to Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) after enjoying the bliss of the kingdom. His son Bhillāditya, possessed of *satva* qualities and disposed to austerities, governed the kingdom while young, and then bestowed it on his son. In all, there were three cases of kings renouncing the world. Hoernle[1] assigning the usual rate of 20 years for a reign, places Haricandra, the founder of the dynasty, in about 640 A.D. which is questioned by Dr. Majumdar.[2] The latter stresses the difference between reign and generation

1. J. R. A. S. 1905 p. 28. 2. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 89.

and assigns an average duration of 25 years per generation. He fixes Haricandra's date at about 550 A.D. We may like to suggest *c.* 600 A.D. as the probable date for Haricandra the founder of the Māṇḍor line, making due allowance for the fact that three rulers had renounced the world rather young. Now we have to consider whether Hiuen Tsang[1] actually refers to any of these rulers.

Hiuen Tsang and the Gurjara kingdom. The Chinese pilgrim places the second kingdom of western India, named *kiu-che-lo* or Gurjara, at about 1200 li, or 300 miles, to the north of Valabhi, and 2800 li, or 467 miles, to the north-west of Ujjain. The capital is named *Pi-lo-mi-lo* or Bhinmal which is exactly 300 miles to the north of the ruins of Valabhi. The kingdom is described as 5000 li or 833 miles in circuit. At that time the king is said to have been Tsa-ti-li or Kṣatriya just 20 years old, and distinguished for his wisdom and courage. He was a deep believer in the law of the Buddha, and personally honoured men of distinguished family. On the strength of this statement, Dr. Majumdar identifies[2] the ruler with Tāta who, according to the Jodhpur inscription, retired to the hermitage at Māndavyapura, and practised there the rites of pure religion, which does not imply his turning a Buddhist. One, however, forgets the fact that the Chinese pilgrim has nowhere referred to Māṇḍavyapura or Māṇḍor nor to Merta or Medantakam where Nāgabhaṭa, father of Tāta, had transferred his capital. Further, the Gurjara kingdom, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, was the second biggest in Western India, but the kingdom of Haricandra seems to have centred round Maṇḍor and Merta in the Jodhpur state, and was a small one. It was very probably a feudatory state owing allegiance to the Kanauj House. The reference, therefore, does not apply to this family[3], but possibly to Varmalāta of the Vasantgarh inscription of the year V.S. 682 who was a contemporary of the Chinese pilgrim, and who had a big Kingdom with his capital, probably, at Bhinmal, not very far from Vaṭa or Vasantgarh in the Sirohi State. He is not called Gurjara, though he was ruling over the Gurjara territory. Hiuen Tsang calls this country Kiu-che-lo and its ruler Tsa-ti-li or Kṣatriya.

History of the Family. We have referred to the early history of the family in connection with the location of the kingdom. There are certain other historical facts awaiting consideration. According to the Jodhpur record, Narabhaṭa, the son and successor of Rajjila, was noted for his valour, and had assumed another name Pellāpelli which sounds rather curious. It is difficult to suggest the name of his adversary or the place where he exhibited his skill and valour. These might possibly have been the

1. Beal: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II p. 269.
2. op. cit.
3. Buhler (I.A. Vol. XVII p. 192) and V.A. Smith (J.R.A.S. 1907 p. 923) suggest that the reference is to the Bhillamāla family ruled by the Cāpa dynasty. D. R. Bhandarkar points our several drawbacks (J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI p. 414)—in view of the distance of Pi-lo-mo-lo from Valabhi as given by Hiuen Tsang. Again, the Cāpotakaṭas or the Cāpas are clearly distinguished from the Gurjaras in the Navasāri grant of the Gujarāt Cālukya Pulakeśirāja (Kielhorn's List no. 404) and the Cāpa kingdon cannot, therefore, be identified with the Gurjara kingdom visited by the Pilgrim. The association of the Cāpas or Cāpotakaṭas with Bhinmal is not noticed in any record. The Haddālā Plates of the Cāpa Mahā-Sāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha suggest that the family was in Kathiawar (Bhandarkar's List no. 1086). It is rather strange that scholars have not taken any notice of Varmalāta of the Vasantgarh inscription who was definitely a contemporary of Harṣa, and in view of Vasantgarh's proximity to Bhinmal, and his position as the overlord, he seems to have a very good claim for being identified as the Kṣatriya ruler mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

rulers of other small states, with whom the kings of this family came into contact later on. Narabhaṭa probably achieved some amount of success, and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. His successor Nāgabhaṭa transferred his capital to Meḍāntaka, very probably, for administrative, and may be, due to strategic considerations. This change was done for good. *Rājadhānī sthirā yasya mahān=Medāntakam*) (v. 12). Nāgabhaṭa had married Jajjikādevī and two uterine accomplished sons—Tāta and Bhoja—were born from this union. There is no reference to the family of this lady. She might have come from another ruling family of the same status. From a late inscription[1] at Buchkalā (Jodhpur State) dated in the V. S. 872, and of the time of Nāgabhaṭa (II) son of Vatsarāja, there is a reference to one Jajjaka, son of Bapuka of the Pratihāra family, whose daughter Jāyāvalī was the queen of Bhumbhuvaka of the Avāṅgānaka family. Here, once again, the familiar names, and the reference to Pratihāra family, suggest that there were a few Pratihāra families of the same stock, and they had established matrimonial relations among themselves.

The successors of Nāgabhaṭa were unimportant. Tāta himself retired to the pious hermitage of Māṇḍavya entrusting his kingdom to his younger brother Bhoja who was succeeded by Yaśovardhana, son of Tāta. This young ruler, renowned for his prowess, had earned fame by his own arms, and had rooted out all thorns (*Vikhyāta pauruṣah bhūto nija-bhujakhyātih samast=oddhrita-kaṇṭakaḥ.* v. 16). The expression 'removing of thorns' need not suggest any big clash with some other power, but, very probably, it implies disputed succession, as he succeeded his uncle Bhoja. Canduka, the next ruler, had a peaceful time, but Śiluka had a few important achievements to his credit. He sided with the ruler of Stravaṇi, and knocked down Bhaṭṭika Devarāja of the Vallamaṇḍala ; and obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella. Peace was restored, and a perpetual boundary was fixed up. His material contributions included the excavation of a tank, establishment of a city, and construction of a lofty temple of Siddheśvara Mahādeo which was set up at the holy place called Treta. Both Jhoṭa and Bhillāditya gave up the throne early in life and practised austerities. Kakka, the son of the latter, distinguished himself by fighting against the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri. The circumstances in which he attained distinction at a far off place might be looked into. This will be done while reviewing the relations of the two Pratihāra families.

The heroic deeds of Bāuka, son of Kakka, are described in the next verse (v. 27). It refers to an attack by some king who, in alliance with a Mayura ruler killed Nandavalla. The former retired to Bhuakūpa, after this invasion which had shattered the morale of the Pratihāra kinsmen. At the right time Bāuka appeared and killed the Mayūra king and his kinsmen. It is mentioned that there was a newly-formed confederation of some states against this Pratihāra ruler, and his ally Nandavalla, and even his younger brothers and kinsmen had deserted him. This account shows that there were several small states, formed into two or more groups. It is difficult to establish the identity of Nandāvalla, but the ally might be linked with the family of the Maurya king Dhavala, mentioned in the Kanaswa (Kotah State) inscription[2] of the Brāhmaṇa prince Śivagaṇa, and dated in V. S. 795. Bāuka was ultimately victorious as recorded in his Praśasti dated in the V.S. 894.

1. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 199 ff.
2. I. A. Vol. XIX p. 57.

Kakkuka, the last ruler, mentioned in the Ghaṭiyālā ināscription of V.S. 918, gained fame in the adjoining countries including Travani, Valla, Māda, Ārya, Gurjjaratra, Lāṭa, and Parvata, thus, suggesting that his prowess was felt in these countries. It is very likely that he indulged in political wrangles on behalf of his overlord at Kanauj. As Kakka had attained fame at Mudgagiri, his son Kakkuka distinguished himself in the campaign of his overlord in western India. It has been clearly shown that Gurjaratrā was in the dominions of Bhoja whose authority was acknowledged as far as Kathiawar. It is rather absurd to presume that the head of a small state could conquer Gurjaratrā or Āryāvarta, and his arms extend as far as Lāṭa in the south-west. As there is no reference to any of his successors, it may be suggested that the dynasty came to an end after him, and the feudatory kingdom was merged in the vast Gurjara-Pratihāra empire.

Relations between the families of Haricandra and of Nāgabhata. We have already cited the traditions connected with the origin of the family of Haricandra, and that of Nāgabhaṭa, and the community of names in the two Pratihāra families, such as Kakkuka, Nāgabhaṭa and Bhoja, thereby suggesting some affinity between the two, their exact political-relation now remains to be determined. Were they independent of each other, or was one the feudatory of the other ? The evidence on this point is furnished by the two inscriptions considered earlier. The Jodhpur inscription mentions Kakka gaining reputation by fighting with the Gaudas at Mudagagiri. There is a reference to the clash between Nāgabhaṭa II and the king of Vaṅga, in which the latter was defeated (*nirjjitya Vaṅgapatim*. v. 10), in the Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription[1] of Bhoja. Did Kakka take part in this campaign ? If so, in what capacity ? It is highly improbable that he should have gone there alone fighting against the king of Vaṅga[2] or Bengal, for no apparent purpose of his own. He probably joined the expedition as an ally of Nāgabhata.

We notice in the Buchkalā (Bilara dist. Jodhpur State) inscription dated in the V. S. 872=A.D. 815 in the time of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Nāgabhaṭa, son of the Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Vatsarāja, that some image was set up after building the temple in the village of Rājyaghangakam—the old name of Buchkalā, by Bhumbhuvāka of the Avāngānāka sept, whose queen Jāyāvalī was the granddaughter of the Pratihāra Bāpuka, and daughter of Jajjaka. It is, thus, clear that Nāgabhaṭa's empire included Buchkalā which is further down Merta in the Jodhpur State it the Vikrama Saṁvat 872 = A. D. 815. The Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, dated 22 years later does not mention Nāgabhaṭa's name, but there are two facts which have to be taken into consideration—the reference to this man fighting at Mudgagiri, and the absence of any title associated with these rulers. It is true that any conclusion cannot be deduced from the absence of the high-sounding titles, as there are some inscriptions[3] of the Pratihāras of Kanauj too in which the titles are ignored, but one should not forget the fact that in most the records of the Kanauj rulers their titles are preserved. The Status

1. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 108.
2. The reference in both the records is to the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla, and there is no point in distinguishing Vaṅga with Gauda.
3. Ref. Gwalior Inscription of the time of the (Pratihāra) Parameśvara Bhojadeva, called Ādivarāha (E.I. Vol. I pp. 159 ff). The Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription also mentions the names of pratihāra rulers without any title (E.I. Vol. XVIII pp. 99 ff.).

of the other family has, therefore, to be assessed otherwise in the absence of titles in their own records. Further, it has been suggested[1] that in this period the titular formula were of little significance. The terms *rājnī* applied to Bhadrā, and Jajjikadevī, and *Mahārājnī* to Padminī the queen of Kakka, the reference to *rājadhānī* of Nāgabhaṭa, the *rājya* of Tāta, Jhoṭa and Bhillāditya, and the epithets *bhūdharanakṣamaḥ* for the sons of Haricandra, and *bhūpati* and *nrisimha* for Kakka and Bāuka respectively point to their independent status. One feels certain that cliché in any record has hardly any evidentiary value for estimating the position of a ruler. It is necessary to take cognizance of the fuller evidence on the subject. Taking this fact into consideration, the authority of the Gurjara-Pratihāras over the Mandor rulers seems established. In fact, the Gurjara Pratihāra empire extended as far as Kathiawar, and there is little room for presuming that the intervening states were left out from the rank and file of the Kanauj satellites.

The Aihole inscription[3] refers to the submission of the Gurjaras, Lāṭas and Mālavas to the Cālukya king Pulkeśin II. It is clear from verse 22 of this record that they were not conquered by force but submitted to, or sought the protection of Pulkeśin of their own accord (*prātāpopanata yasya Lāṭa-Mālava-Gurjaraḥ*. v. 5), and in poetic expression they became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories submitted by force ought to behave (*daṇḍo-panata-sāmanta-charyy-ācharya iv=abhavan*. v. 22). It appears from verse 17 that Āppāyika and Govinda approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of Bhaimārthī ; they were successfully met by Pulakeśin II, who repulsed and expelled the former, and made an ally of the latter. It is also noticed in that record that Harṣa, the Emperor from the north did not succeed in penetrating to the south of the Rewa i.e. the Narmadā where Pulakeśin's armies were encamped. These two factors would determine the northern and southern boundaries of the Cālukyan empire. It should be clear from the reference to the two rivers that this empire was localised with in these two limits.

As regards the Lāṭas, Mālavas, and the Gurjaras, mentioned in this record, who submitted to the protection of the Cālukyan Emperor of their own accord, it is clear that there was no real clash with them. Dr. Majumdar[4] suggests that the Gurjaras of this record were those of the Maṇḍor line and not the Broach Gurjaras, because the region occupied by the latter is included under the Lāṭas. Secondly Hiuen Tsang refers to one Gurjara kingdom (Kiu-che-lo) which was at a distance of 300 miles north of Valabhī. Here we differ from him. The Lāṭa country never included the region occupied by the Broach Gurjaras. As suggested by Fleet,[5] and rightly too, it would be recognised from certain western Cālukyan records and the synchronous Gurjara ones, that Lāṭa was originally a small territory, bounded on the north and separated there from the Gurjara country, by the river Kim, while the southern limit was the river Dāmangangā. On the east the Lāṭa country was doubtless bounded by the Western Ghats. As regards the

1. J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI pp. 409-19 ; J.R.A.S. 1909 pp. 248-9.
2. G. H. Ojha mentions an inscription found in the village of Cirai in the Jodhpur State, of Jasakarana, son of Durlabharāja (?) of the Vikrama Samvat 993 = A.D. 936 and supposes that probarly they were descendants of Bāuka or Kakkuka, but this conclusion seems conjectural as it lacks evidence.
3. E. I. Vol. I. pp. 1 ff.
4. E. I. Vol. XXVIII p. 92.
5. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts (2nd Edition) p. 312 ff.

second argument, Hiuen Tsang certainly mentions only one Gurjara King, and that too, of Bhinmal. He did not take notice of the feudatory Gurjaras, as he ignored the Lāṭas and even the King of the Mālavas, at that time, if there was one. In fact, he mentions a King Śilāditya who flourished sixty years earlier.[1]

It may be suggested that the country occupied by the Gurjaras, Mālavas, and the Lāṭas was previously conquered by Mangleśa who, according to the Mahākūṭa record,[2] acquired the whole of the northern territory up to the river Kim, or perhaps as far as the Mahī from Buddha. This event took place before April A. D. 602 (?), as suggested by the above record. The Gurjara feudatory of Buddha submitted to the new lord, and this was followed by the Mālavas and the Lāṭas. The same position continued in the time of Pulakeśin II who did not interfere, but accepted the *status quo*. It is clear from the Aihole inscription that the rulers of these countries were his feudatories. The Gurjaras of the family of Haricandra are not implied in this reference, but the passage refers to the Gurjara family of Broach.

Relations between the Rulers of Maṇḍor and Broach : Some inscriptions bring to light the existence of a family ruling at Broach. The records assign to these rulers, popularly called Gurjaras, only feudatory titles : Dadda I and Dadda II are styled *Sāmanta*, while Jayabhaṭa is given the higher epithet *Mahāsāmanta* the lord of the great barons'. The other title *samadhigatāpañcamahāśabda*[3]-meaning 'who has obtained the five mahaśabdas suggests his feudator character. The same epithet is attributed in the Umeta,[4] Bagumra,[5] and Ilao plates[6] to the Mahārājādhirāja Dadda II—Prasantarāga, from which it may be inferred that, despite his high sounding titles, he obeyed or had obeyed sometime, or another, a paramount sovereign. An idea about the territory under his possession can be had from a perusal of the places mentioned in the records as well as from the find-spots of the inscriptions. Thus the Kaira plates[7] of Gurjara Dadda II—the earliest record dated in the year 380 (of the Kalacuri era) and issued from Nāndipurī, record grants to Brāhmaṇas, of the village of Siriṣapadraka in the Akrūreśvera village, which is rightly identified by Bühler[8] with the Aṅkleśvara, the chief town of the Aṅkaleśvara tāluka in the Broach

1. Beal : Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II pp. 261.
2. I.A. Vol. XX p. 16. The Sarsauni Plates of Buddharāja, [Kalacuri] Saṁvat 361 (Padra division of Baroda) records the grant of a village in the Bharukaccha viṣaya, from their camp at Ānandapura (identified by Fleet with modern Anand, the chief town of the Anand sub-division of the Kaira Dist. C.I.I. Vol. III p. 173). The date of the conquest of the Kalacuri ruler may be placed a little later, but the authenticity of this record is unquestionable.
3. The term literally means 'the five great sounds' denoting the sound of five musical instruments, the use of which was allowed, as a special mark of distinction, to persons of high rank and authority. This epithet is used as the distinguished *biruda* of a feudatory ruler. K.B. Pathak, quoting a passage from *Revakotyacarya* suggested that the term could never mean the playing of a royal band five times a day. The five great musical instruments, spoken by the Jain chronicler, are thus enumerated by a Liṅgāyata writer :—*śriṁga, tammata, śaṅkha, bherī*, and *jayaghanṭā* in the *Vivekacintāmani*. We suggest that the term corresponds to the salute of guns like those of the native princes during the period of British rule in India.
4. I.A. Vol. VII. pp. 63 ff.
5. I.A. Vol. XVII pp. 199 ff.
6. I.A. Vol. XIII pp. 166 ff.
7. Ibid., pp. 82 ff.
8. I.A. Vol. V. p. 113.

district. Śirishapadraka is the modern Sisodra, about 10 miles south of Aṅkleśvara between the rivers Kim and Nārmadā. Nāndipurī, the place from where the two Kaira charters were issued, has been identified by Bhagwanlal Indraji[1] with the modern Nandod, the chief town of the Rajpipla state. Bühler suggests[2] its identification with an ancient fort of the same name, which stood outside the Jhadeśvara gate on the east of the town of Broach. Another copper plate of the time of Dadda II was issued from Sankheda, in the Baroda State.[3] Of the records of the time of Jayabhaṭa III a copper plate charter, obtained at Nausāri[4] in the Baroda state, and issued from the camp at Kavyāvatāra, registers a grant to a Brāhmaṇa of some land at the village of Sampadraka in the Korilla pathaka. According to Bühler, Kāvyāvatāra is probably the modern Karvan, about 15 miles south of Baroda, and Korilla is the modern Koral, on the north bank of the Narmadā, 16 miles to the north east of Broach. The Kavi plates[5] convey the grant to a temple of the god Āśramadeva, of some land in the village of Kammaju in the Bharukaccha Viṣaya. Kamajju has been identified with the modern Kimoj or Kimaj, in the Jambusar taluka of the Broach district, about 5 miles to the south of the river Mahī. According to Fleet,[6] these records cover the country from the north bank of the river Kim to the south bank of the Mahī, showing the extent of the Gurjara territory in the neigbourhood of the coast, and extending inland to the western ghats. It was contiguous to the Lāṭa province of the kingdom of the western Cālukyas of Badami in the south, with the river Kim as the boundary line; in the north, across the Mahī was the Kheṭakāhāra province—the modern Kaira district in the Cambay state and some outlaying parts which belonged to the rulers of Valbhī. It is suggested by Bühler[7] that the Broach kingdom included, according to the testimony of the inscriptions, the whole of the central Gujrat and the northern parts of southern Gujrat, the tālukas of O.pad, as well as the adjoining parts of the Baroda state, of the Revakantha, and of Sachin. Its northern frontier was probably the river Mahī, and the southern one the river Ambikā. The demarcation of the boundaries of this Gurjara feudatory kingdom makes it contiguous to the main Gurjara Kingdom in the north, Valabhī in the west, Lāṭa in the south and the Cālukyas in the east. Now we may like to trace the relation between the two Gurjara families.

It is suggested by Dr. Majumdar[8], endorsing the earlier inference of Bühler[9], that the Gurjaras of Broach were vassals of the Gurjaras of Bhinmal. It is, however, clear from the Gurjara record that Dadda I was of the Gurjara royal family. (*Gurjarānripavaṁśa*), but he and his descendants are also referred to as *Sāmantas* or feudatories. It has been painted out by Dr Majumdar that "after Haricandra had carved a principality for himself in Gurjaratrā and the neighbouring country, the nomadic habits of the tribe led them further south till they conquered a fair portion of Lāṭa. The necessity of preserving their own against the rising power of the Cālukyas probably led to the foundation of a feudatory state in the northern province under Dadda, the younger brother of the

1. I.A. Vol. XIII p. 73.
2. I.A. Vol. VII p. 62.
3. E.I. Vol. II p. 21.
4. I.A. Vol. XIII pp. 70 ff.
5. I.A. Vol. V pp. 109 ff.
6. Op. cit., pp. 312 ff.
7. I.A. Vol. XVII p. 193.
8. Op. cit., p. 91.
9. I.A. Vol. XVII p. 194.

ruling king Rajjila". He has cited instances like these furnished by the history of the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

We, however, feel great diffidence in expressing an opinion contrary to the views of so able and erudite a scholar for several reasons. Firstly, the inscriptions of Haricandra's family are dated in the Vikrama era and not in the Kalacuri era in which the records of the Broach rulers are dated. Secondly, he has not taken into account the Kalacuri rulers Śaṅkaragana, son of Kṛṣṇarāja, and his son Buddharāja whose records are dated in the years 347, 360, and 361 respectively at Abhona[1] (Nasik dist.), Vadner[2] (Nasik dist.), and Sarsavni[3] (Baroda State). The dates correspond to A.D. 599, 608 and 609 respectively. If Dadda was especially deputed by his overlord to set up a kingdom at Broach, one would expect his clash with the ruling power in that region. In the absence of any such reference, Dr. Majumdar's theory lacks force. On the other hand, the Mahākūṭa inscription[4] of Mangaleśa, speaking of the Kalacuris by the alternate form of Kalatsuri, records that these people were conquered by him in the course of an expedition to the north, and that the king ruling at the time was named Buddha. The victory over Buddha or Buddharāja is also referred to in Mangaleśa's copper plate grant from Nerur[5] which also mentions Buddha's father Śaṅkaragana. It appears that the Katacuris or the Kalacuris were the overlords and the Gurjaras were their feudatories, till the former were conquered by the Cālukyas of Badami. It is suggested by Fleet[6] that Mangaleśa must have acquired a considerable amount of territory, extending from the Konkan up to the river Kim at least, which was the northern boundary of the Lāṭa country, and perhaps even up to Mahī. The country between the Kim and the Mahī, however, belonged to the Gurjara princes, and they continued to be in possession of it as feudatories, despite the change in overlordship. It was not included in the Lāṭa Province, as the distance might have prompted the Cālukya ruler to retain the *status quo*.

The Kaira Plates,[7] dated in the year 380 and 385 of the Gurjara Dadda II (Praśāntarāga), give a genealogical list showing that Dadda II was preceded by his father Jayabhaṭa I (Vītarāga) and grandfather Sāmanta Dadda I who had uprooted the Nāgas. Allowing roughly twenty years per generation, Dadda I can be placed as a feudatory in about 340 of the Kalacuri era, and it is possible that he was a Sāmanta of Kṛṣṇarāja, the Katacuri ruler, and his son Jayabhaṭa I that of Śaṅkaragana, and the latter might have continued in the time of Buddharāja as well. With the change in power, the allegiance of the Gurjara family passed on to the Cālukyas. Their hold over the territory, occupied by the Gurjaras, is also clear from the Kaira—now Royal Asiatic Society plates[8]—

1. E.I. Vol. IX pp. 297 ff.
2. ibid., Vol. XII pp. 33 ff.
3. ibid., Vol. VI pp. 297 ff.
4. I.A. Vol. XIX p. 16.
5. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar, the earliest reference to Mangaleśa's success against Katacuri Buddharāja is found in the Mahākūta pillar inscription of A.D. 602. But the Vadner grant indicating Katacuri occupation of the Nasik district in A.D. 608 shows that the Cālukya conquest of the southern provinces of the Kalacuri kingdom in the central and northern parts of the Mahārāṣṭra was by no means complete before the date of the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription (Classical Age. p. 190.)
6. Op. cit.
7. I.A. Vol. XIII. pp. 82 ff.
8. I.A. Vol. VII pp. 248 ff.

of the Gujrat Cālukya Vijayarāja, *issued from Vijayapura, and dated in* the Kalacuri year 394.

Further, the Nausāri plates of the Gurjara lord Jayabhaṭa III, issued from Kāvyāvatāra, refer to Dadda II protecting a lord of Valabhī who had been defeated by Harṣadeva (evidently Harṣavardhana). On this point, Dr. Majumdar presumes[1] that 'everything would be clear if it is admitted that Broach was a feudatory state of the dynasty of Haricandra and remember its hereditary enmity with the Royal house of Thāneśvara'. While making this suggestion he seems to divagate from the main issue namely, the struggle for supremacy between Harṣa and Pulakeśin. It is very probable that when Harṣa pressed on Valabhī, the ruler had no option but to move south-east through Cambay, hoping that the feudatory of the strong southern ruler would afford him protection. Dhruvasena enjoyed the hospitality of this Gurjara chief, as we find him issuing the charters from his camp at Bharukaccha[2] i.e., Broach, from which it is inferred that the Gurjara territory then belonged, for a time at least, to the kingdom of Valabhī. Fleet rightly presumed[3] that, as the villages that were granted lay not in *the Gurjara territory*, but *in* the Kheṭakabāra viṣaya, the grants might have been made while Dhruvasena was the guest of Dadda II after his defeat by Harṣavardhana. We are not at present concerned with the history of the Gurjara family of Broach, but we might notice a few relevant facts. A Gurjara record[4] of A.D. 706 speaks of Dadda III as waging war with the kings of the east and the west meaning, according to Fleet, the king of Valabhī in the latter case, and either the western Cālukyas, or some ruler of Malwa in the former case. Another record[6] of A.D. 736 suggests that Jayabhaṭa III quieted in battle the impetuosity of the king of Valabhī. The Gurjara power, however, came to an end shortly afterwards. The Nausārī grant of A.D. 738 informs us that there had been an invasion by the Tājikas or Arabs, in which the Gurjaras were destroyed.

The records, noticed above, leave little evidence to suggest that Dadda I of the Broach line was a son of Haricandra who was sent from the north to carve out this territory which was to serve as a buffer state. It is probable that this Dadda might have come from Maṇḍor, and he and his successors served as feudatories first to the Katacuris or Kalacuris, and then passed on their allegiance to the Cālukyas, till their kingdom was overrun by the Arabs. The Cālukya ruler Pulakeśiraja averted the invasion caused by the intrusion of the Arabs when they came to reduce the Navasārika country. The Cālukya emperor finally extended his empire up to the Kim or even Mahī.

The Arab invasion. The period under review is also noted for Arab incursions, which indirectly helped in the integration of several small vassal states. The Nausārī Plates mention those destroyed by the Tājikas before they reached the Navasārika country. These included kingdoms of Saindhavas, Surāṣṭra, Cavoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara kings. The Arab invasions were undertaken by the officers of Junaid, the General of Khalifa Hasham (724-743 A.D.). Bilādūrī gives a short account of these

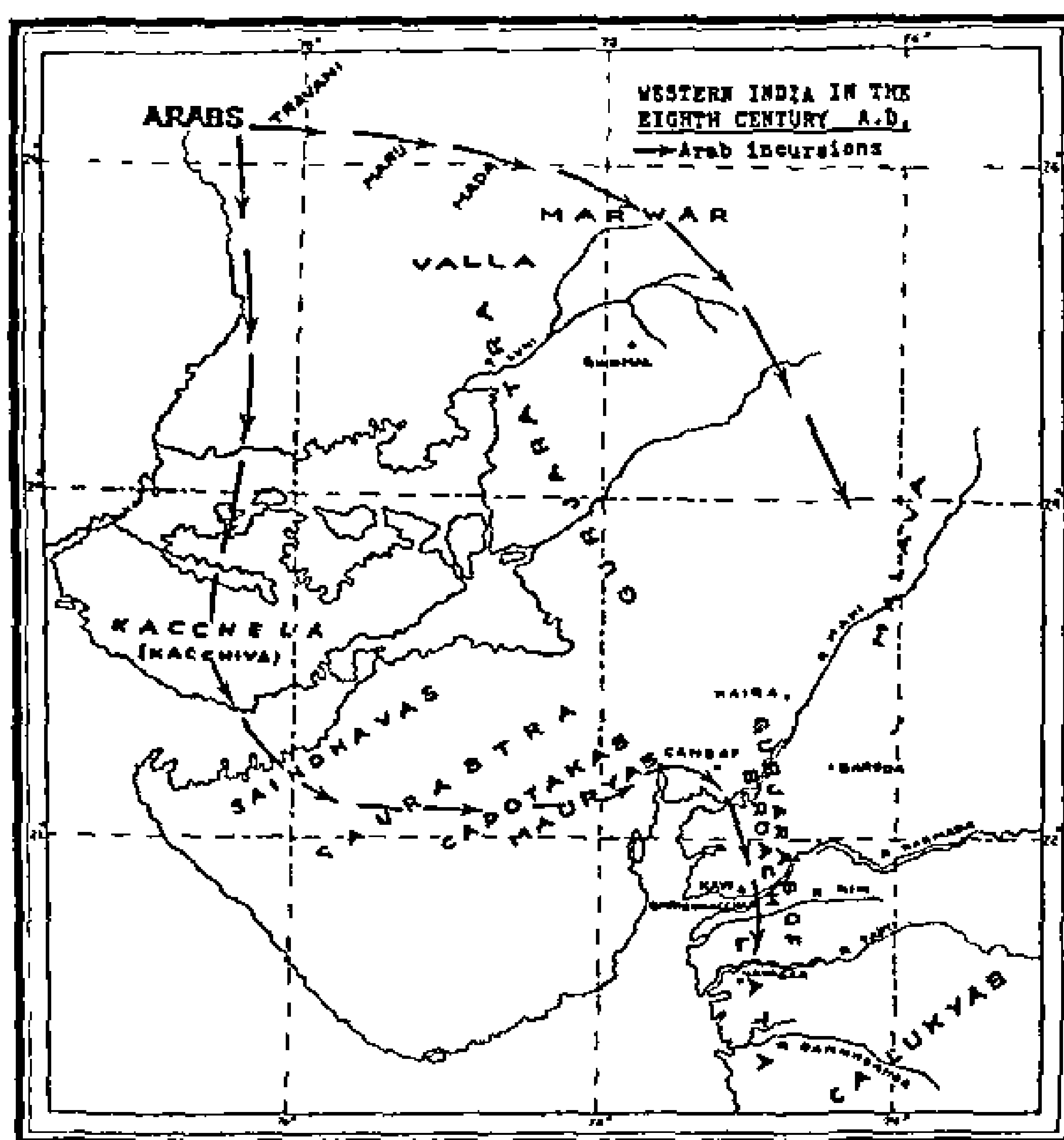
1. Op. cit., p. 92.
2. I.A. Vol. VII p. 73 ; Vol. XV p. 336.
3. Op. cit., p. 316.
4. I.A. Vol. XIII p. 80.
5. I.A. Vol. V. pp. 114 ff.
6. Proceedings VII International Congress of Orientalists (Aryan Section pp. 230 ff).

expeditions. He says[1] that Junaid sent his officers to Marmad, Mandal, Barus and other places and conquered Bailman and Jurz. In the light of these corroborative statements, the line of Arab advancement may be suggested, and the native rulers clashing with them identified.

The Saindhavas were the first to face the Arabs. They are referred to in a couple of grants recovered from Gumli (Navanagar-Kathiawar), published recently.[2] Puṣyadeva was the founder of the Saindhava dynasty, and he fourished between *c.* 515 and 535 G.E. (*c.* 734 and 754 A.D.). He claims to have belonged to the mythical Jayadratha's family, and he and his descendants were generally known as Saindhavas, probably because they were among the emigrants fiom Sindh, and had to leave that place after its conquest by Arabs in 712 A.D. They seem to have settled down in some northern corner of Kathiawar. The Cāvoṭaka (also called *Cāpoṭakā*, abbv: *Cāpa*, or *Cāvada*) were associated with Kathiawar, as we learn from the Haḍḍala inscription of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharanivarāha. In the account given by Junaid, Bhillamala is distinguished from Cāvoṭaka, referring to the dynastic names, and so, the Cāvoṭaka ruler might be placed somewhere in Kathiawar. As regards the other names mentioned in the Nausāri plate, Kacchella is evidently Cutch, Surāṣṭra is Soraṭha, or South Kathiawar, and the Mauryas may be placed somewhere in Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar. A late inscription from Wagli in Khandesh mentions a Maurya chief named Govindarāja, and states that the original town of the Mauryas or rather of this branch of the Maurya stock was Valabhi—the modern Wala in Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar.[3] The Gurjaras mentioned in this record were definitely those of Broach. It seems that the Arab invasion mentioned in the Nausāri grant was confined only to the western and south western part of India touching Kathiawar, Cutch, Surāṣṭra, and Broach, and finally the invaders reached the Cālukyan territory, where they were repulsed.

As regards the north—including Rajputana, Junaid sent a force against Uzain and he also sent Habid with an army against the country of Maliba (Malwa). The Arabs made an incursion against Uzain and they attacked Baharmad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Al Bailman and Jurz. He sent his officers to various other places mentioned as Marmād, Mandal, Dalmag, Barus, Uzain, Maliba, Baharmad, Al-Bailman and Jurz.[4] It seems that both the families of Haricandra and Nāgabhaṭa had to encounter the Arab menace, even though it was ineffective for long. In the days of Tamin the Musulmans retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions (ibid). These foreign inroads, however, helped in the integration of so many states. In the south, the Cālukyas extended their empire after fighting the Arabs successfully. In the north Nāgabhaṭa I of the Gurjara family availed of the opportunity and, by driving away the Mlechas, he secured his position and laid the foundation of a new Gurjara dynasty. The other family of Haricandra was not uprooted, but its importance was considerably minimised.

1. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. I p. 126.
2. E.I. Vol. XXVI pp. 185 ff.
3. Fleet, op. cit., p. 284.
4. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 442.


WESTERN INDIA IN THE
EIGHTH CENTURY A.D.
Arab incursions
ARABS
TRAVANI
MARU
MADA
MARWAR
VALLA
KACCHELA
(KACCHIVA)
SAINDHAVAS
SAURASTRA
CAPOTAKAS
MAURYAS
CAMBAY
KAIRA
BARODA
CALUKYAS

CHAPTER III

THE GURJARA-PRATIHĀRAS OF UJJAIN AND KANAUJ

The rising tide of the Arab threat which flooded the central and the south-western Peninsula completely submerged the smaller states, and when it had subsided two strong powers emerged—the Calukyas in the south-west, and the Gurjara-Pratihāras in the north. The leaders of the two families—Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja and Nāgabhaṭa I distinguished themselves by stemming the progress of the Arab incursions in the south-west India and Madhyabhārata. The Nausāri Plates dated in the year 490 of the Kalacuri era, eulogise the Calukya ruler who defeated the Arabs when they were proceeding towards Navasārikā after conquering the Saindhavas, Kacchellas, Surāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjjara (those of Broach) Kings. In the Central belt—the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja praises Nāgabhaṭa for driving away the Mlecchas. The two kings, who hurled back the forces of Islam and caused the ultimate retreat of the marauders, were shrewd enough to take full advantage of the worsening situation, and they integrated those small states which were overrun by the Arab invaders. A bid for supremacy between the two was inevitable, and the absence of any record of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja after the year 490 of the Kalacuri era, and the reference to Nāgāvaloka, the ruling sovereign in the Hansot Plates of Bhartṛivaḍḍha, suggest that the Pratihāra King Nāgāvaloka=Nāgabhaṭa was triumphant, and his empire extended from Ujjain to the Arabian Sea. The history of this ruler, who was the founder of the Gurjara-Pratihāra line, is annaled in several records, other than his own, and it is only by piecing together the information from various sources, that an account of him—his capital, conquests, and his successors can be made available.

Sources. The main source recording the history of this family, is the Sagartal (Gwalior) Praśasti inscription[1] of Bhoja alias Mihira, which mentions its origin, and the up to date political events connected with all the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers from Nāgabhaṭa downwards till the time of Bhoja. Besides this record, the Hansot Plates (Broach dist.) of the Cāhamāna Bhartṛivaḍḍha II, and of the time of Nāgāvaloka, dated in the year V. S. 813, issued from Bhrigukaccha, refer to the empire of this ruler extending up to Broach (*Śrīman-Nāgāvaloka-prova(r)ddhmāna-Vijayarājya Śrī-Bhrigukacchāvasthite*).[2] The Jain *Harivaṁśa*[3] locates the kingdom of Vatsarāja, the grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa at Avanti in the Śaka year 705; and the reference to the original Gurjara-Pratihāra seat at Ujjain, is also noticed in the Sañjan Copper Plates of Amoghvarṣa.[4] The Arab historians refer to incursions being sent to Uzzain, and the subsequent withdrawal of the Arabs from several parts of India.[5] Their accounts are important for corroborative

1. E.I. Vol. XVIII pp. 99 ff.
2. Ibid., Vol. XII pp. 202 ff.
3. I.A. Vol. XV p. 141.
4. E.I. Vol. XVIII pp. 235 ff.
5. Elliot and Dowson, Op. cit., Vol. 1 p. 126.

purposes. Besides these sources, there are two other inscriptions—the Paṭhāri (Bhopal State) Pillar inscription of Parabala[1]—whose father Karkarāja put to flight King Nāgāvaloka; and Haras (Jaipur State)[2] inscription of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja—dated in the year V. S. 1030 whose ancestor Guvāka (I) (removed from him by six generations) was famous as a hero in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka. The identity of the Nāgāvaloka of the Paṭhāri and Haras inscriptions has also to be established. Here reference may be made to the Ragholi[3] (Bālāghaṭ dist. C.P.) inscription of Mahārāja Parameśvara Jayavardhana (II) of the Śaila family which mentions Pṛithuvardhana, son of Srīvardhana (I), conquering the Gurjara country.

Origin and Home of the family. The origin of the family with Nāgabhaṭa as the founder is traced, like the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, to Lakṣmana (Saumittri) a stern rod of chastisement in war with Meghanāda, the destroyer of Indra's pride who served as a door bar of Rāma (*tasy=ānujo=sau Maghavamada-muṣo Meghanādasya saṁkhye Saumittris tīvra daṇḍaḥ pratihāraṇa-vidhēr=yaḥ pratihāra āsīt*) (v. 3). In that family which bore the insignia of Pratihāra (door=keeper) and was a shelter of all the three worlds, King Nāgabhaṭa appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyana). (*tad=vaṁśe Pratihāra-kētana-bhṛiti ttrailokya raks-āspade dēvō Nāgabhaṭaḥ purātana-munēr mūrtir=vva (bba) bhāv=ādbhutam*) (v. 4). This suggests a common origin of the two Pratihāra families, but, unlike the Jodhpur inscription which mentions the founder of the other family to be a Rohilladdhi Brāhmana, well versed in Vedas, who had married a Kṣatriya Rājñī, this family was not of mixed blood. It was of pure Kṣatriya origin. Vatsarāja, the grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa I, is described as the foremost among the most distinguished Kṣatriyās (*ekaḥ Kṣatriya puṅgaveṣu ca*) (v. 7). His son Nāgābhaṭa performed a series of religious ceremonies according to the custom of the Kṣatriya families (*yaḥ kṣattra-dhāma-vidhi-baddha-baliḥ prabandhaḥ*) (v. 9).

It is, thus, clear that the family of Nāgābhaṭa was of blue blood and, as is very common, the ancestry is traced to the family of Rāma. Rājaśekhara, who enjoyed the patronage of Mahendrapāla and his son Mahipāla I, the paramount sovereign of Āryāvarta, describes his patrons as *Raghukulatilaka*[4] and *Raghuvaṁśamuktāmaṇin*[5] respectively. The relations between the Pratihāra family of Nāgabhaṭa and the other one of Haricandra seem superficial—except for a common origin and the same homeland. This must not, however, be forgotten that the inscriptions recording the foundation of these Kingdoms are dated centuries after the event actually happened, and it was rather natural for the successors to use hyperbolical expressions in praise of their ancestors, and align them with the solar race.

As regards the original capital of the Imperial Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj, the question has been debated by a number of scholars.[6] The claim of Ujjayaini, the capital of Avanti, rests on a much strong piece of evidence than Jalor where one

1. E.I. Vol. IX pp. 218 ff.
2. E.I. Vol. II pp. 116 ff.
3. E.I. Vol. IX pp. 41 ff.
4. *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. I. 6.
5. *Bālabhārata*. I. 7.
6. I.A. Vol. XV. p. 141. Bombay Gazetteer. Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 197 n. 2; E.I. Vol. VI. pp. 105-6; J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 253; Bhāratīya Vidyā. Vol. X. pp. 13 ff.

Ranahasti Vatsarāja ruled according to the Jain text *Kuvalayamālā*. Nāgabhaṭa's grandson Vatsarāja is described as *Avanti-bhūbhrita* in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* which also notices the location of other kingdoms. The passage may be quoted here in original: *Śākesu=abda śateṣu saptaṣu diśāṁ pañcottureṣ=ūttarām. Pāti-Indrāyuddha nāmni Krishṇan-ripaje śrivallabhe dakṣināni. Pūrvam śrimad=Avanti-bhūbhriti-nripe Vats=ādirāje=param Sauryānām=adhimaṇḍale jayayute vīre varāhe vati.* The passage informs us that the work was completed in Śaka Samvat 705 (Expired)=783-784 A.D. when these kings were ruling in various parts, determined with reference to a place named Vardhamānapura identified with Wadhawan in Jhalavad division of Kathiawar:—in the north, Indrāyudha;[1] in the south, Śrīvallabha;[2] in the east Vatsarāja, King of Avanti (Ujjain); and in the west Varāha or Jayavarāha in the territory of the Sauryas.[3] An amendment in the last portion is suggested by D. R. Bhandarkar[4] who translates the portion as: "In the east the illustrious King of Avanti; in the West, King Vatsarāja; and in the territory of the Sauryas, the Victorious and brave Varāha."

Vatsarāja's claim as the ruler of Avanti is questioned on the ground that this suggestion makes the use of the word *nripe* redundant after *bhūbhrita*. But such tautology is not unusual in inscriptions. Ujjayinī's claim as the capital of the Pratihāras is strong. According to the Sañjan Copper Plate inscription[5] of Amgohavarṣa, the Gurjara lords and others were made door-keepers when at Ujjayinī the *Hiraṇyagarbha* was performed by the Kṣatriyas (*hiranyagarbham rājanyair=jjayanyaṁ yudāsitaṁ. Pratihārīkritam yena Gurjarādi rājakaṁ*). It is proposed by J. C. Ghosh, that if Ujjayinī was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king it would be difficult to believe that a ruler should be made a door-keeper in his own capital. This is endorsed by D. S. Sharma and H. L. Jain.[6]

1. Ref. Bhagalpur (now Bengal Asiatic Society Plate of the P.M.P. Narāyapāladeva, issued from Mudgagiri, which mentions Dharmapāla, after defeating Indrarāja and others, giving the sovereignty of Mahodaya (Kanauj) to Cakrāyudha (I.A. Vol. XV pp. 305 ff.; Cf. I.A. Vol. XX p. 187.) Apparently this Indrarāja seems identical with Indrāyudha of the Jain *Harivaṁśa*. According to Dr. Majumdar this Indrarāja was the brother of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dhruva whom he had left in charge of Lāṭeśvara maṇḍala with presumbably Gujrat and other Rāṣṭrakūṭa possessions in the north (J.D.L. Vol. X p. 37 fn. 2). The defeat of Indrarāja, according to Dr. Majumdar, was a further episode in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Gauḍa rivalry by which Dharmapāla not only avenged his former defeat by Dhruva, but also cleared the way for his further conquest by eliminating the only power that stood between him and the empire (History of Bengal, Vol. I p. 106).
2. The Pimpari plates of Dhruva dated in the Śaka year 697 (E.I. Vol. X pp. 85 ff.) and the Jethwai Plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Queen Silamahadevī, dated in the Śaka year 708 (E.I. Vol. XXII pp. 105 ff.) suggest that Dhruva reigned between the period Śaka 697 and 708. The period is disturbed if we consider the Dhulia grant dated Śaka 701, (E.I. Vol. VIII pp. 182 ff.) referring itself to the prosperous reign of Govinda II, as a genuine one. For, if Govindarāja II ceased to reign and was succeeded by his brother Dhruva about Śaka 697, how could he be ruling again in Śaka 701, as the Dhulia grant implies? Evidence, thus, points to the inevitable conclusion that the Dhulia grant, is a spurious one, and the King mentioned in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* was Dhruva.
3. The territory of the Sauryas, according to Smith, most likely means the Peninsula of Saurāṣṭra, or Surāṣṭra, the modern Kathiawar, or, at least, the southern part of that Peninsula (J.R.A.S. 1909 p. 253).
4. J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI p. 421 fn. 4.
5. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 243 v. 9.
6. H. L. Jain in a paper on 'The chief Political divisions of India during the Eighth Century' published in the 'Indian Culture' Vol. IX pp. 101 ff., suggests that the political divisions, as existed about Śaka year 705, were as follows:— Indrāyudhra ruled in the north from Kanauj up to the borders of Malwa. South of the Malwa stretched forth the Kingdom of the Rāṣṭra-

The evidence adduced by the Ellora Daśāvatāra cave Inscription is conclusive on this point. It mentions the performance of the great *mahādāna* ceremony by Dantidurga at Ujjayinī, and it is further stated that he occupied at this place a palace of the Gurjara ruler. It is, thus, clear that Fleet was right in associating Vatsarāja with Avanti. The importance of Ujjain, as the capital city, is noticed in the account given by Bilāduri[1] who refers to an Arab incursion sent against Ujjain.

Date of Nāgabhaṭa and Principal events of his reign. According to the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of this line, was succeeded by his nephew Kakkuka or Kakutsha, and Devarāja, followed by the latter's son Vatsarāja who was ruling at Avanti in the Śaka year 705 = A.D. 783. If we allot roughly 25 years per generation[2] we might fix up A.D. 730 as the probable date of Nāgabhaṭa I. Another inscription[3], the Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna feudatory Bhartrivaddha II, records a grant that was made at Broach, in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvaloka, in the year V. S. 813 (A. D. 756). This Nāgāvaloka = Nāgabhaṭa may be identified with Nāgabhaṭa I, the founder of the family. There are two other Nāgāvalokas one mentioned in the Paṭhāri (Bhopal State) Pillar inscription of Parabala,[4] and the other in the Haras (Jaipur State) inscription[5] of the Cāhmāna Vigraharāja. The first record is dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 917 = 867? A.D. It mentions Karkarāja, father of Parabala in whose reign the record is dated, putting to flight King Nāgāvaloka. This Karkarāja was the son of one Jejja whose elder brother obtained Laṭa after defeating Karnāta soldiers. The other inscription of the Cāhamāna

kūṭas. Malwa itself was ruled by a king at Avanti, and immediately to the west of it extended the Kingdom of Vatsarāja covering the whole of Marwar and Gujrat, while Kathiawar was ruled by another King probably named Vīra Jayavarāha. According to him the Avanti King was altogether different from Vatsarāja and the former's dominions extended up to the borders of Saura mandala or Surāṣṭra. The contemporary king of Avanti was probably Candragupta, mentioned in the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsa, who has been conjectured to be a ruler of Central India (Ref. Jha Volume, Poona 1937, p. 232). He has made another suggestion that Badnawar in the Dhar state, situated 40 miles to the south-west of Ujjain, was the ancient Vardhamānapura, where the Jain work *Harivaṁśa* was finished in the Saka year 705. These suggestions raise many hypothetical issues, and are unacceptable. The verse in the passage may suffer from improper syntax, and be open to the fault of tautology, but historically one can hardly notice any lacuna in it. The Sañjan plate inscription ends the controversy raised by D. R. Bhandarkar, and H. L. Jain's attempt to rake up the ashes is uncalled for and he does not make any contribution. The identification of Vardhamānapura with Badnawar is improbable. Looking at the map one would find that Avanti with its capital Ujjain is immediately to the north of Wadhawan, and not to the east, as presumed by Jinasena. Further, it is difficult to presume two important divisions of the country within a radius of 40 miles. The theory is very speculative and has no historical valve.

1. Elliot and Dowson, Op. cit., Vol. I p. 126.
2. The average duration may be about 25 years, as evinced from the following data : (1) Eight generations of Pāla Kings from Dharmapāla to Mahipāla I reigned for more than 209 years.
   (2) Seven generations of Cālukya Kings from Kīrtivarman I to Kīrtivaraman II, ruled for more than 160 years.
   (3) Nine generations of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kings from Dantidurga to Indrarāja IV ruled for more than 229 years.
   (4) Nine generations of Pratihāra Kings from Vatsarāja to Trilocanapāla ruled for more than 244 years.
3. E.I. Vol. XXI pp. 107 ff.
4. Op. cit.
5. Op. cit.

Vigraharāja, dated in the V. S. 1030=24th August A.D. 974 mentions Guvāka I of the Cāhamāna line who was famous as a hero in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka. Vigraharāja was removed from Guvāka I by six generations—Guvāka, Candrarāja, Guvāka II, Candana, Vākapatirāja, Siṁharāja, and Vigraharāja. By assigning 25 years per generation, Guvāka I might be placed in about 824 A.D. These two Nāgāvalokas= Nāgabhaṭas seem to be different from the one mentioned in the Hansot Plate inscription who is identical with Nāgabhaṭa I, while they may be identified with Nāgabhaṭa II.[1] The main events of Nāgabhaṭa's reign are his clash with the Mlechas resulting in the latter being driven away, and his conquest in the south-west culminating in the extension of his territory as far as Broach. Regarding the first event referred to in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, Nāgabhaṭa's prominence was due to his victory over the militant forces of Islam; and he was acclaimed as a national hero in that hour of crisis. His triumph established his greatness and that of his family. Having crushed the powerful Arab army led by the Mleccha King, the destroyer of virtue, he shone forth with four arms brilliant on account of the glittering terrible weapons (*yēn=āsau sukṛita -pramāthi-va(ba)lavan Mlecch-ādhipāksauhiṇīḥ Kṣundāna* (*Kṣundānas*) *sphurad-ugra-bēti-rucirē* (*rai*)*r=ddōrbbis=caturbbir=vvabhau* (*bbabhau*) (v. 4). From the other source Nāgabhaṭa's victory is implied in the tacit admission of the Arab historian Bilādūri who has referred to the dignified withdrawal of the Arab forces.[2] 'The Arabs made incursions', observes Bilādūri, 'against Uzain (Ujjain), and they attacked Bahrimad and burnt its suburbs'. The fact that the Arabs sent incursions against Ujjain which they failed to conquer, unlike other places mentioned by Bilādūri, and its omission in the list of kingdoms conquered by the Arabs before they reached Nausārī, is a clear admission of the superiority of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. It is accepted by Bilādūri that Junaid's successors were feeble, and in his days the Musalmans retired from several parts of India leaving some of their possessions. Nāgābhaṭa's achievement against the Arabs inspired confidence in him, and against the Arabs, he decided to unsheath the sword elsewhere. It is not known how, and when, his supremacy was recognised at Broach. The absence of any record of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja after the year 490 of the Kalacuri era=A.D. 738-9, and the recognition of Nāgāvaloka=Nāgabhaṭa's authority at Broach in the Vikrama year 813=A.D. 756 by the Cāhamāna feudatory Bhartrivaḍdha II suggests that the Pratihāra ruler probably conquered this territory after his clash with the Cālukya ruler, who seems to have given way.

Another event, supposed to be connected with the time of Nāgabhaṭa I, is referred to in the Rāghōlī[3] (Bālāghāṭ dist. C.P.) plate of the M. P. Jayavardhana II of the Śaila

1. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies Nāgāvaloka of the Haras inscription with Nāgabhaṭa I of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty (List p. 14 note 2).
2. Op. cit.
3. E.I. Vol. IX pp. 41 ff. According to the Editor of this record, the Śailavaṁśa is probably identical with the Śailodbharas or Śilodbharas of Orissa. Dr. Mujumdar suggests that the original home of the Śailas was in the Valley of the Himalayas, though they conquered the Gurjara country. Later on they spread to the east and ultimately three branches of the family established themselves at Kāśī, the Vindhyan region and Paundra (History of Bengal, Vol. I. p. 82). The original home of the family in the Himalayas is based on the epithet—*Kailāś-ācala-tuṅga-śriṅga-tipula-droṇija-vaṁśa-prabbu*—given to Śrīvardhanā I, and meaning 'the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāśa mountain'. Here geography contradicts the mythical origin of this family. This much may be accepted that the family ruled somewhere in the Vindhyan region in the eighth century A.D.

family. This record brings forth certain facts of historical importance. Firstly, it refers to Pṛithūvardhana, son of king Śrīvardhana of the Śaila family conquering the Gurjara country. Secondly, a son of Sauvardhana of this family killed the Pauṇḍra king, while his brother murdered the king of Kāśi. The latter's son Jayavardhana I established himself in the Vindhya region after killing the local king. His son was Śrīvardhana II, followed by Jayavardhana II who was the lord of the Vindhya country. As the Paleography of this record resembles, to a greater extent, that of Govinda III, dated in the year 794 A.D., it is not improbable that some of the historical events might be associated with Nāgabhata I. Dr. R. C. Majumdar[1] presumes that Pṛithuvardana was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa I, who probably ruled about the middle of the eighth century and conquered the country of the Gurjaras. This suggestion is untenable. Jayavardhana II, in whose time the inscription was recorded, was removed from Pṛithuvardhana by at least five generations, may be even more, Pṛithuvardhana—Sauvardhana—three sons—Jayavardhana I—Śrīvardhana—Jayavardhana II, and if we assign roughly 25 years per generation we come to *circa* A.D. 694, or near about that, as the time of Pṛithuvardhana. His conquest of the Gurjara country seems to have been undertaken before Nāgabhaṭa, and not in his time, as presumed by Dr. Majumdar.

As regards Jayavarmana I—the grandfather of the ruler of this record—who established himself in the Vindhya region after killing the local king, he might have been a contemporary of Nāgābhaṭa I, but apparently no direct relation seems to be hinted at between the Śaila and the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers. The Vindhyan Lord, killed by Jayavardhana I, might have been some local ruler. In fact, Nāgabhaṭa's empire did not extend as far as the Bālāghāṭ district of C.P.—the distance between Ujjain and the latter place seems to be over 300 miles which probably he did not cover. Further, Nāgabhaṭa I seems to have confined himself to Rajputana only, and his authority was recognised in western India as far south as Broach. The task of subjugating the eastern powers was left to his successors, and it was only in the time of Nāgabhaṭa II that the rulers of Sindhu, Āndhra, Vidarbha, and Kaliṅga succumbed to his power.[2] It is clear that the Ragholi plates are of little importance for tracing the history of Nāgabhaṭa I and his relation with the Eastern powers.

Kakkuka and Devarāja (Devaśakti). Nāgabhaṭa seems to have died in glory leaving a stable kingdom and a reputation for his successors to maintain and preserve. The date of his death is uncertain, but, very probably, it happened shortly after 760 A.D. His successors were his nephews—sons of an unnamed brother—Kakkuka or Kākutstha and Devarāja (Devaśakti), who ruled between *c.* 760 and 780 A.D., as we find Vatsarāja, son of the latter, ruling at Avanti in the Śaka year 705=783 A.D. when the Jain *Harivaṁśa* was composed. Kakkuka was a nonentity, and he ruled for a short time. He died issueless and was succeeded by his younger brother Devarāja, called Devaśakti in the Barāh inscription[3] of the Pratihāra Mahārāja Bhoja (I). He was a devotee of Viṣṇu and was married to Bhūyikādevī. The Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja describes him as curbing a multitude of Kings and destroying their powerful allies, thus causing them to cast off their free movements (*Yajñe (jajñe)=cchin (cchinn)-ōru-pakṣa-kṣapita-gati kulaṁ bhūbhṛitām sanniyantā*) (v. 5). This praise of Devarāja is exaggerated. It is probable

1. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 103.
2. E.I. Vol. XVIII p. 108, v. 8.
3. E.I. Vol. XIX pp. 17 ff.

that he made attempts to extend his empire in the south-west, and the task in the other direction was left out for his son Vatsarāja. The rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed (Mānyakheta) in the south made him uneasy. We learn from the Sañjan Plate Inscription of Amoghavarṣa that Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line of Mālkhed, conquered Avanti, and, at the great gift of Hiraṇyagarbha, made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers. (*pratihārī kritam yena Gurjarēś=ādi-rajakam*).[1] The position of the king of Avanti was reduced temporarily by the success of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, but apparently no permanent damage was suffered by the Pratihāra empire, as we find from the accounts about Vatsarāja in the Sāgartāl (Gwalior) inscription, and the Jain *Harivaṁśa*. We have already suggested that he cannot be identified with the Bhaṭṭika Devarāja of the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka who was knocked down by Śiluka.

Vatsarāja. Vatsarāja, son of Devaśakti from Bhūyikādevī, was a devotee of Śiva. He ascended the throne after the death of his father, and seems to have consolidated his own kingdom. Later on, he forcibly wrested the empire of Bhandi[2], probably a descendant of Bhandi of Harṣa's time and the ruler of some neighbouring region. The record of his initial success and his subsequent defeat is preserved in the Gwalior Praśasti of Mihira Bhoja, and some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, the latter being more emphatic on the reverses suffered by him at the hands of the rulers of Mālkhed. His position, as one of the four important rulers of India, is described in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* which associates him with Avanti, but his kingdom seems to have included Jodhpur. and a considerable part of Rajputana. Some information on this point is also furnished by the Osia (Jodhpur) inscription,[3] dated in the V. S. 1010, which mentions the construction of a Jain temple in the reign of Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra family. It signifies that this part of Jodhpur state was included in the Kingdom of Vatsarāja, and, very probably, the other Pratihāra family was in a subordinate position. The record of his conquests and defeats may be presented here in chronological order.

The Praśastikāra mentions, in Verse 7 of the inscription, that (Vatsarāja) forcibly wrested the empire in battle from the famous Bhandi clan, hard to overcome by reason of the rampart made of infuriated elephants (*Khyā (tād-Bhaṇḍi) kulām=mad=ōtkaṭakarī prākāra-durllaṅghatō yaḥ sāmarājyam=adhijya-kārmmuka-sakhā saṁkhyē-haṭhād=agrahīt*). The expression *Sāmarājyam* suggests that he had been able to carve out an empire in the strict sense of the term. According to R. D. Banerji[4], most probably after the death of Harṣavardhana, the family of his cousin Bhandi succeeded to the throne. Vatsarāja in his time is said to have easily conquered Bengal and taken away from its king the radiantly white umbrella. It is also contended by him that the Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasions of Bengal must have taken place before the time of Gopāla I, and not in his time, as presumed by V. A. Smith. While the event connected with the

1. Op. cit., v. 8; cf. the Daśāvatara Cave temple inscription at Ellora (Arch. Sur. West. Indi, Vol. V. p. 88) referring to the institution of a *Mahādāna*, worthy of kings by Mahārāja Sarva, which apparently may be another name of Dantidurga, at Ujjain (E.I. Vol. XVIII p. 239).
2. Dr. Majumdar identified Bhandis with Bhaṭṭis (J.D.L. Vol X. p. 28) and this was accepted by Dr. Tripathi. Ojha's identification of the Bhaṇḍis with the family of Bhandi mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* is accepted by many scholars. It is, however, uncertain if Bhandi himself was a ruling chief, and there is no information about his successors.
3. J. R. A. S. 1907 p. 1010.
4. Pālas of Bengal, p. 44.

line of Bhandi may not, in anyway, be associated with Bengal, it certainly helped him to pursue the policy of expansion.

Conquest of Bengal : Vatsarāja's incursion into Bengal is noticed in the records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda III, the *Prithvīrājavijaya*, and in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja. According to Radhanpur (Gujrat) grant of Govinda III, dated in the Śaka year 730 equivalent to A.D. 808, Dhora (Dhruva) drove into the tractless desert Vatsarāja who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of the Gauda and taken away from him, not merely the two Gauda umbrellas of state, but also his fame (*Hēlā-Svī (kri) ta Gauḍarājya - kamalā-mattam pravēśy = ācirāt durmārgam = aprativv(ba)lair = yō-Vatsa-rājam va(ba) laiḥ. Gauḍīyam saradindupāda-dhavalām cchotra dvayam-kēvalam tasmān = n = āhrita tad - yaśo 'pi kakubham prānte - sthitam tatkṣaṇāt.*[1] The same facts are repeated in the Wani (Nasik dist.) grant of the same ruler dated slightly earlier (saka 730 = A.D. 808).[2] The point now is when did this conquest take place, and how far did it extend in Bengal ? As mentioned earlier, R. D. Bannerji suggests that it took place in the time of Gopāla, while V.A. Smith takes the view that Gopāla himself was the vanquished ruler. It is suggested by Dr. Majumdar[3] that the fight between the Gauḍas and the Pratihāras was a natural cosequence of the imperial design of both these powers. Dharmapāla inherited a unified kingdom, and he was bent on its further expansion in the west where the political situation was admirably suited to his ambition. Unluckily for him, the Pratihāra ruler Vatsarāja of Kanauj also felt the same urge. He availed of the opportunity to exhibit his strength in this trial for supremacy. Kanauj was the objective for both, and the contending parties probably came into clash somewhere in the Doab. It is also suggested by Dr. Majumdar that Dharmapāla was defeated in this encounter and the effect of this reverse would have been serious, but for the providential interventions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva who inflicted a disastrous defeat upon Vatsarāja.

The incursion of Vatsarāja into Bengal proper is not admitted by the many historians.[4] The reference to the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja appropriating with ease the fortune of royalty of the Gauda does not suggest, according to these historians, that Vatsarāja advanced as far as Gauda, far less that he actually occupied both Gauḍa and Vaṅga. The encounter of the lord of the Gauda with the Gurjara-Pratihāra, like that with Dhruva, might have taken place in the Doab, or its neighbourhood, in a territory far from the borders of Bengal. They do not attach any importance to the statement that he took away Gauda's state umbrella, because the same claim is made by Dhruva, and in the latter case the encounter definitely took place in the Doab, far from Bengal. These scholars further suggest that there is no evidence of any extensive territorial conquest of Vatsarāja, such as would be implied in a triumphal march from Malwa up to the heart of Bengal.

On the other hand, a verse in the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*[5] is quoted to suggest that the sword of the Cāhamāna king Durlabharāja purified itself by a dip at the confluence of the Ganges and the sea, and by the taste of the land of the Gauda. As Durlabharāja's son Guvāka I distinguished himself as a hero in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka, it has been

1. E. I. Vol. VI pp. 242 ff.
2. I. A. Vol. XI p. 156 ff.
3. History of Bengal, Vol. I pp. 104-5.
4. R. D. Banerji, Banglair Itihāsa (in Bengali) p. 148 ; History of Bengal, p. 105 note 1.
5. V. 20; I.H.Q. Vol. XIV pp. 844-45.

suggested that Durlabhrāja was the feudatory of Vatsarāja, and accompanied him in his expedition of Bengal. It seems that the historians questioning Vatsarāja's incursion into Bengal are not prepared to accept the authenticity of the verse from the *Prithvīrājavijaya*. While one may agree with them, it is not very safe to base such important conclusions on stray verses composed about four centuries after the events described, it is equally unsafe to draw analogy from the record of another family which was successful against the Pālas. If Druva defeted the Pāla ruler somewhere in the Doab, his army had to cover a longer distance from Malkhed to the border of Bengal than Vatsarāja whose territory in the east very probably abutted on the western boundary of the Pāla Empire. There is no reference to any intermediary state between the Pratihāra and the Gauḍa kingdom in the time of Vatsarāja, but the Nilgund inscritpion of Govinda III mentions the lords of Aṅga and Magadha along with those of Vaṅga, Mālava and Veṅgi worshipping the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor. The states of Aṅga and Magadha were under the Pāla rulers and it is likely that regained their independence during the period of turmoil caused by the incursions of Vatsarāja and Dhruva into Bengal[1]. It is probable that Vatsarāja, unlike Dhruva, penetrated deep into Bengal, defeated the ruler and granted independence to the kings of Aṅga and Magadha who continued to maintain their independent existence till the time of Govind III, as we find their names mentioned in the Nilgund inscription.

Relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas. According to the Wani[2] and Radhanapur[3] inscriptions of the time of Govinda III, Vatsarāja was driven into the tractless desert by Dhora (Dhruva) who took away from him not merely the two Gauda umbrellas at stake, but also his fame (*tad-yaśo'pi kakubhām prāntē sthitam tatkṣaṇāt*) (v.8). There is an additional verse in the Radhanpur grant which refers to the defeat of the Gurjara by Govinda. This victory proved decisive in the sense that the whereabouts of the Gurjara king became unknown (*Gūrjarō naṣṭaḥ kv=āpi bhayāt=tathā na samaram svapne 'pi paśyad=yathā*) (v. 15). Here it is necessary to refer to the reverse of the Bengal ruler by Dhruva, who, after defeating Vatsarāja, evidently marched through his dominions upto the Doab (*Gaṅgā-Yamunayor-madhye rājño=Gauḍasya naṣyataḥ*),[4] and overthrew the Pala ruler. The Baroda plates of Karkarāja also refer to the defeat of the Gauḍa king at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda III. The four important lines may be quoted here in the original :—*Yō Gaṅgā–Yamune taraṅga–subhāge gribnān=parēbhyaḥ samam sākṣāc-cibna-nibhenu c=ōttama-padam tat=prāptavān=aiśvaram. dēh-āsammita-vaibhavair-iva guṇair=vyasya bhramadbhir-ddiśo. vyāptās=tasya babhūva kirtti-puruṣo Govinda-rājah sutaḥ.*[5] Fleet

1. It might be interesting to point out the location of ancient Gaude. The *Brihat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira clearly restricts Gauḍaka to a part of Bengal which is distinguished not only from the Pauṇḍra (North Bengal, Tāmraliptika (part of the Midnapore dist.), Vaṅga and Samataṭa (Central and Eastern Bengal) but also from Vardhamāna (Burdwan) (XIV 6-8). The potentate who exercised supreme sovereignty in the time of Nāgābhaṭa II, is referred to as Vaṅgapati in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja I (E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 108). The existence of Vaṅga as a political or administrative unit in the same period is proved by the Nilgund inscription (E.I. Vol. VI p. 103). The Gaudas and Vaṅgas are sometimes mentioned side by side, as in the Baroda plates of Karkarāja (811-12 A.D.) (I.A. Vol. XII p. 160). Political union under the same soveriegn, styled both Vaṅgapati and Gaudapati, was making the terms interchangeable. It seems probable that the ruler defeated by Vatrarāja was the king of both Vaṅga and Gauḍa.
2. I. A. Vol. XI pp. 156 ff.
3. E. I. Vol. VI pp. 239 ff.
4. Ref. Sañjan Plates, v. 14.
5. I. A. Vol. p. 159, ll. 22-24.

editing the inscription considers the first two lines as referring to Govinda III and this is endorsed by R.P. Chanda.[1] Dr. Majumdar, however, points out[2] that the last line clearly suggests that the reference is not to Govindarāja but to his father Dhruva.

There is another point worth consideration here. The Sañjan plates of Amoghavarṣa contain many verses of historical importance. Verse 14 mentions that Dhruva snatched away the royal umbrella parasols of the king of Gauda, as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna. This agrees with the information given in the Baroda plates of Karkarāja that Dhurva seized the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna and added the emblems of the two main rivers to his imperial insignia. The other verse relating to the defeat of Nāgābhaṭa and Candragupta, their reinstatement, and the submission of Dharma and Cakrāyudha will be considered later on.

Though it is difficult to date precisely the incursions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas into the north, some suggestions might be made tentatively. It seems that Dhruva's conquest of Vatsarāja's, territory driving him into the desert, and the defeat of the Gauda ruler by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor took place between A.D. 783 and 794, very probably in close succession. According to the Paithan inscriptions,[3] Govinda III ascended the throne in A.D. 794, and, his succession being disturbed,[4] both Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla, once again, entered into disputation for attaining the supreme position. Govinda III seems to have given them a long rope, and both the Pāla and the Gurjara rulers managed to expand their empire. The Rāṣṭrukūṭa ruler ultimately prevailed upon them, and defeated them in one stroke. Vatsarāja was, very probably, the Gurjara lord who was destroyed by Govinda III, and Dharmapāla was defeated somewhere near Allahabad. There is no further trace of Vatsarāja, but Dharmapāla seems to have accepted the humble position and his kingdom was left untouched. The tripartite struggle between the Gurjara, Pāla and Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers ended in a temporary victory of the last ruler. The result was indecisive, as we find the struggle continuing even in the time of the successors which we shall review later on.

It is difficult to suggest the probable date of Vatsarāja's death and the time of his son Nāgābhaṭa's accession to the throne. It is roughly fixed in *c.* A.D. 800, but, as has been suggested earlier, the Gurjara ruler, defeated and destroyed by Govinda III, and mentioned in the Radhanpur inscription, was Vatsarāja. Accepting this hypothesis, it may be possible to suggest that Nāgābhaṭa II ascended the throne near about 808 A.D.,[5] inheriting very probably, a small kingdom, and memories of the

1. Mānāsi, Vol. VII p. 539.
2. E.I. Vol. XVIII p. 194, no. 1.
3. E. I. Vol. III pp. 103 ff.
4. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I Pt. II p. 395; E. I. Vol. VI p. 195.
5. Dr. Majumdar rightly suggests that it was not very easy to arrange the details of Nāgabhaṭa's eventual career, and view his reign in correct perspective. It is not known whether his discomfiture at the hand of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas preceded or followed his victories. Dr. Altekar points out that Govinda III's conquests were achieved before A.D. 802 (The Age of Kanauj. p. 8) He seems to have changed his views now, and agrees with Prof. Mirashi. This would mean that Nāgabhaṭa II has to be pushed up a decade earlier, or even more. Dr. Majumdar places Nāgabhaṭa's defeat in A. D. 794-95. We take a different view and agree with Prof. Altekar that there were probably more than two incursions of Govinda III in the north. The earlier one was in the time of Vatsarāja, while the second one was only a trial of strength betwen Govinda III and Nāgabhaṭa, and the latter gave way.

reverses suffered by his father, but, no doubt, with hopes of a bright and successful future.

Nāgabhaṭa II. The fourth ruler Nāgābhaṭa II, son of Vatsarāja from Sundarīdevī and a most devout worshipper of Bhagavatī, had to pass through many vicissitudes of life. The fortunes of Gurjara glory, which lay enveloped in darkness as a result of successive defeats from the Rāṣṭrakūtas, witnessed a new dawn. The Gurjara sun Nāgabhaṭa revealed himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness, and the kings of Sindha, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga, attracted by his glamour, succumbed to his power like moths unto fire. (*pataṅga-samair=apati*). Accompanied by his feudatories, Kakka and Bāhukadhavala, he defeated Cakrāyudha and his lord Dharampāla. This was followed by his capturing the strongholds of the Ānartta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya countries. With these accomplishments, Nāgabhata soon reached the hey-day of his glory. It is suggested that this brilliant epoch of Gurjara history was soon followed by the dusk of his decline. The coalition of the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Pālas was responsible for the defeat and humiliation of the Gurjara ruler. It would, however, appear from a perusal of the available evidence that the defeat of the Gurjara lord and the restoration of his kingdom by Govind III preceded his stormy career of conquest when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler was very much engrossed in his campaign against the southern powers.

Sources. The events, summarily mentioned above, are recorded in the inscription of his successor, their feudatories, and the records of the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pāla rulers and their successors. The foremost in these records is the Gwalior Praśasti[1] of Mihira-Bhoja which mentions in chronological order—in a series of verses—the achievements of Nāgabhata II, the submission of the kings of Andhra, Sindha, Vidarabha and Kaliṅga, the defeat of Cakrāyudha and following in the same train, the vanquishing of the king of Vaṅga. His last achievement, according to this record, was the forcible seizure of the hill forts of Ānartta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya. The conquest of Bengal by Nāgabhaṭa is also referred to in the Jodhpur inscription[2] of Bāuka which mentions Kakka distinguishing himself against the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri. Apparently he fought as a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II who is said in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja to have defeated the king of Vaṅga. The dark side of Nāgabhaṭa's career, resulting in his defeat at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, is noticed in the Sañjan plates of Amoghavarsa.[3] "The *fair and unshakable fame of king* Nāgabhaṭa and Candragupta was carried away in battles in their own dominions, but they were reinstated in their own places." The other Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, including the Baroda copper plate of Karkarāja,[4] are important for fixing the probable date of Nāgabhaṭa's achievements—especially his conquest of Bengal and the defeat of th king of Mālava. Lastly, there is an inscription of the time of Nāgabhaṭa II—the Buchkala (Jodhpur State) inscription[5] dated in the Vikrama Samvat 872 which suggests that he was ruling in the year 815 A.D. The exact date of his death is furnished by the *Bappa Bhaṭṭicarita* of the *Prabhāvakacarita*, written by Candraprabhāsūri. It speaks of the death of king

1. Op. cit.
2. Op. cit.
3. Op. cit. Verse 22.
4. I. A. Vol. XII pp. 155 ff.
5. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 41 ff.

Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja taking place in Samvat 890=(A.D. 833-34).[1] On the question of the identity of this Nāgāvaloka, we might again refer to the two inscriptions, namely, the Paṭhari Pillar inscription[2] of Parabala, dated in V. S. 917, which mentions his father Karkarāja who put to flight King Nāgāvaloka; and the Haras (Jaipur State) inscription[3] of the Cāhamāna-Vigraharāja which mentions Guvāka I who was famous as a hero in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka. The data from these sources would be considered under the following heads :—Conquests of Nāgabhaṭa, his clash with the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the identity of this Nāgabhaṭa with Āma-Nāgāvaloka of the *Bappa Bhaṭṭicarita*.

Nāgabhaṭa's Conquests. If the verses in the Gwalior Praśasti describe events in chronological order, the first event of his reign was the submission by the kings of the Andhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga as moths do unto fire (*Yattrā=Āndhra-Saindhva-Vidarbha-Kaliṅga-bhūpaiḥ, kaumāra-dhamani pataṅga-sāmair=apāti*).[4] The kings of these countries, forming more or less a central belt, seem to have joined hands with him to face the Rāṣṭrakūṭa menace from the south and the Pāla domination from the north and the east. Apparently there is no reference to the clash taking place between the Sindhu and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers, but the other kings did have some grievance against Govinda III. The king of Vidarbha seems to have been dispossessed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler. The Sirso grant of Govinda III[5] dated in the Śaka year 729 and the Lohara[6] grant of the same ruler dated in the Śaka year 734, equivalent to A.D. 807 and 812 respectively, suggest that the Akola district of Berar (ancient Vidarbha) was under the domination of Govinda III at that time. There was, therefore, no actual conquest of this region by Nāgabhaṭa, but the discomfited ruler joined hands with the Gurjara lord to regain his kingdom. According to the Sañjan plate inscription (v. 24), Govinda III returning from the north, where he accepted the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, came down to the banks of the Narbadā and conquered the Mālava, Kosala, Veṅgi, Dahala and Odraka countries which were placed in charge of his feudatories. It is, therefore, clear that the kings mentioned in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, were actually those rulers who had some grievance against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. The question now is : what was the position of Nāgabhaṭa who is earlier described in verse 22 as being defeated along with Candragupta by Govinda III and later on reinstated (*Punar=atiṣṭipat-svapāda eva c=ānyān=api*). While the kingdoms of other rulers mentioned in verse 24 were entrusted to the feudatories of Govinda III, Nāgabhaṭa and Candragupta were left out with their intact possessions. It was, thus, natural for the defeated rulers to seek the help of the Gurjara-Pratihāras monarch unconditionally. This event probably happened sometime in A.D. 809 or 810.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler now getting old, and personally engrossed in the southern campaign against the Dravidian confederacy, could only watch the movement of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler. The latter, thus, had an opportunity to materialise his scheme of conquest and become the supreme monarch in Northern India. We learn from the Baroda

1. N. S. P. Ed. pp. 177 VV. 720-725.
2. Op. cit.
3. Op. cit.
4. Op. cit. V. 8.
5. E. I. Vol. XXIII pp. 206 ff.
6. Ibid., pp. 216 ff.

plate of Karkarāja, dated in the Śaka year 734=A.D. 812, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler placed Karka's arm for protecting the kingdom of Mālava, as a door-bar to prevent an invasion by the king of the Gurjara who had become puffed up by conquering the lord of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. (*Gauḍēndra-Vaṅgapati-nirjjaya-durvvidagdha-sad-Gūrjjarēśvara-dig-arggalatām ca-yasya*).[1] This suggests that the ruler of Bengal was already defeated by Nāgabhaṭa. We also find a reference to this fact in the Sañjan plates. Nāgabhaṭa's empire extended in the north upto Pañcāla. The conquest of Kanauj was accomplished by defeating Cakrāyudha as well as Dharmapāla, and the Gurjara armies seem to have accomplished this task by conquering Kanauj first and then defeating Pālas at Mudgagiri where his feudatory Kakka of the Jodhpur line distinguished himself. Govinda III was exhausted after his conquest in the north and his campaign in the south, and he could hardly afford to take up the cudgels for these rulers. Very probably, there was some understanding between the Gurjara ruler and the king of Bengal, and the former was recognised as the supreme lord at Kanauj.

We learn from the next verse in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, that Nāgabhaṭa forcibly seized the hill force of the kings of Ānartta,[2] Mālava,[3] Kirāta,[4] Turuṣka,[5] Vatsa,[6] and Matsya[7] (*Ānartta-Mālava-Kirāta-Turuṣka-Vatsa-Matsya-ādi-rājagiri-durga-haṭh-āpahāraiḥ*). The location of these kingdoms would evidently suggest that Nāgabhaṭa's conquest included the whole of Uttara Pradeśa including Mathurā and Allahabad districts in the south and east, certain portion in the north eastern U.P. abutting on Nepal, Malwa, and portions of Gujrat, and some portion of the Arab possessions in western India.

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1. Op. cit., l. 39.
2. Ānartta is known from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* as corresponding to northern Kathiawar. Its capital was Kuśasthalī, the modern Dwarka (Bhagwanlal Inderji and Buhler I.A. Vol. VII p. 259). The other suggestion is that it comprised northern Gujarat with its capital Ānarttapura afterwards called Ānandapura, the modern Vadnagar (Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I pt. I p. 6 n. 2). The references in Sanskrit literature show that Surāṣṭra, Anūpa and Ānarta were contiguous countries, and that Anūpā lay beyond the south of Ānarta (Pargiter ; *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa* p. 344). Surāṣṭra and Ānarta together formed one province under Rudradāman's minister the Pahlava-Suviṣākha (E.I. Vol. VIII p. 44 line 11).
3. Mālava included both Ākara and Avanti corresponding to eastern and western Mālava respectively. At the time of Bhoja, its capital was Dhāranagara, and its former capital was Ujjayinī (*Brahma purāṇa*, ch. 43). The territory of the Mālava ruler probably abutted on that of Karkarāja. It appears that Nāgabhaṭa conquered Mālava after 812 A.D., when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power was in a state of confusion.
4. Kirātas—In all likelihood, they were a Tibeto-Burman people who lived between the high Himalayan plateau, the mouth of the Ganges and the neighbouring sea coast. Sylvain Levi has pointed out that the Nepalese usage still gives the name Kirāta to the country between the Dudh-kośi and the Arun, and there is evidence that the Kirātas occupied a much more extensive area in Nepal (Le Nepal Vol. II pp. 72-78 ; I. A. Vol. XIII p. 417). According to Collins, Kirāta could only be regarded as one of the general terms for non-Āryan aborigines (Geographical data from the Raghuvaṁsa and Daśakumāracarita. Leipzig p. 8).
5. The Mohammedans are addressed as Turuṣkas in many inscriptions (see Bhandarkar's list Nos. 381, 1109, 1525 etc.). It is probable that Nāgabhaṭa might have come into clash with the Arabs settled in Sindh.
6. According to the *Bṛhatsaṁhita*, Vātsa included the south eastern division of the middle country, with its capital Kauśāmbī (I.A. Vol. XXII).
7. According to Cunningham, Matsya then included the whole of the present Alwar territory with proportions of Jaipur and Bharatpur (Reports XX p. 2).

Jain teaching, to which he agreed. After due ceremony he was initiated into the mysteries of Jainiṣm, and Bappabhaṭṭi told him to pass away happily. In the Vikrama Year 890 in the month Bhādrapada, Śukravāra, Śuklapañcamī in the Nakṣatra Caitrā, in the Rāśi Tulā, king Nāgāvaloka gave up his life after worshipping Pañcaparameṣthi (the five great ones) pinning his faith firmly in the Jina and his own Guru Bappa Bhaṭṭi.[1]

The evidence adduced by this biography of Bappabhaṭṭi-Carita seems fairly reliable. According to the Buchkalā inscription, Nāgābhata II was ruling in V.S. 872 and he also possessed the title of Nāgāvaloka, as is evident from the Pathari pillar inscription of Parabala, and the Haras inscription of Cāhamāna Vigrharāja. The reference to the animosity between this ruler of Kanauj and king Dharma of Bengal is in conformity with the evidence available from inscriptions. Further, both the rulers had a grandson named Bhoja, though the names of their sons are different.

On the contrary, it is doubtful if the activities of Nāgabhaṭa II gave him possession over Kanauj.[2] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar regards[3] the capture of Kanauj by the Gurjara Pratihāras to have been an achievement, possibly, of Bhoja, and not of any of his predecessors, namely his father Rāmabhadra, or even his grandfather Nāgabhata II. It is proposed by him that during the period of struggle for empire up to the end of the reign of the Gurjara Nāgabhaṭa II, Kanauj continued to remain under the rule of the of the successor of Yaśovarman, that is Amarāja.

While the authenticity of *Prabhāvaka-carita*, written centuries after the happening of the actual events may not be accepted in full, it can hardly be denied that the *Bappa Bhaṭṭi-carita* is useful as a corroborative piece of evidence shedding light on the political condition of northern India at the time when this teacher flourished. Certain facts and names do not tally, but others agree with the evidence available from other sources. The difference between the time of Yaśovarman and Nāgabhaṭa, with Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha coming in as intermediaries, may be narrowed down to such an extent that Āma-Nāgāvaloka is actually regarded as the sucessor of the former. His conquest of Kanauj is confirmed by the account of his grandson, especially the Barah (Kanpur) inscription, and, as Rāmabhadra's rule was short, it might rightly be presumed that it was conquered by Nāgabhaṭa. We have information from the Gwalior Praśasti that Nāgabhaṭa defeated Cakrāyudha and later Dharamapāla, and it has been shown that the Bengal ruler saved his skin and kingdom by accepting Nāgabhaṭa's conquest of Kanauj. As regards the difference in the names of the son of Āma-Nāgāvaloka and Nāgabhaṭa II,

1. ibid, p. 113.
2. According to Dr. Majumdar, there is no reliable evidence in support of the view generally accepted, that Nāgabhaṭa after having defeated Cakrāyudha, annexed his kingdom and transferred his seat of government to Kanauj which, henceforth, continued to be the capital of the dynasty. The only evidence in favour of the theory that Nāgāvaloka II transferred his capital to Kanauj is a statement in the *Prābhāvaka-carita*. The statement about the capital might have been due to the fact that Kanauj was long known as the famous capital of the Pratihārās at the time when the work was composed. If Nāgabhaṭa really transferred his capital, it was very likely towards the close of his reign *c*. A. D. 830 after Dharmapāla had died and his son and successor Devapāla had enjoyed the position of the supreme ruler of Northern India for a fairly long period, as is claimed in his records (History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 112, note 3) ; for contra, see R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj pp. 232-33.
3. Op. cit., 120.

it is likely that Dunduka might be a *biruda* of Rāmabhadra. We would, therefore, like to evaluate the importance of this Jain biography as a good second grade source, and its evidence may be accepted so far as it confirms the details available from the epigraphic records.

Rāmabhadra. The date of Nāgabhaṭa's death, as mentioned in the *Bappa Bhaṭṭi-carita*, may be accepted, and Rāmabhadra's accession to the throne at Kanauj be fixed in *c.* A.D. 833. He seems to have ruled for a short time, as the earliest record of Bhoja is dated in V.S. 893 = A.D. 836-37. Son of Iṣaṭṭādevī, and although a devotee of Sun, Rāmabhadra was a depraved king who seems to have lost his life and his throne as a result of his immoral activities. The short period of his rule was one of inactivity, complaisance and laissez-faire in which distant parts of the empire started cracking, and his adversaries—especially the Pāla ruler-Devapāla had a fair opportunity to expand his territory to the north, and, once again, attained the supreme position. The Gwalior Praśasti hints at the insolence of the cruel commanders (*krūra-satvān*) who probably disturbed the peace in his kingdom. This might have been due to his weaknesses which made him obnoxious to his subjects and his own relations, as suggested in the biography of the Jain saint.

The records of his successor Bhoja, namely, the Barāh inscription[1] of the year 893, the Daulatpur[2] one of the year 900, and the Gwalior[3] one of Alla of the year 932, are helpful in giving information about the inglorious reign of Rāmabhadra. The first one mentions that the grant was originally made in the time of Parameśvara Sarvavarmana-deva,[4] that it was afterwards approved by the Māharaja Nāgabhaṭadeva, but that its allotment, having fallen into abeyance in the time of Māharaja Rāmabhadradeva through the fault of some Judiciary officer (*Vyavahārin*), was restored by Bhojadeva. The Daulatpur inscription also refers to an incident of this type. A grant made by the king's great grandfather, the Mahārāja Vatsarājadeva, and confirmed by his grandfather, the Māhārāja Nāgabhaṭadeva, had fallen into abeyance in the reign of Bhoja who restored it. The abeyance of the grants in the time of Rāmabhadra seems to be due to the disturbed political condition, may be the loss of the territory covered in the grant, though the excuse given is the incapacity of the officer concerned. For the second grant, it seems to be held up in the time of Rāmabhadra, as there is no reference to him, and it continued to be so in the time of Bhoja who finally restored it. The loss of territory in the time of Rāma-bhadra is also hinted at by the Gwalior inscription of Alla, whose father Vāillabhaṭṭa was appointed Warden of Marches (*maryādā-dhurya*) by Rāmadeva, evidently Rāmabhadra. It appears that at that time Gwalior formed the southern boundary of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire.

According to the Badal Pillar inscription, King Devapāla, attending to the wise counsel of Kedārmiśra, eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūnas,

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1. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 17 ff.
2. E. I. Vol. V p. 211 ff.
3. E. I. Vol. I pp. 156 ff.
4. Probably it was a very old grant made in the time of the Maukhari king of this name (A note will follow later on.).

and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Dravida and Gurjjara.[1] It may be suggested that it was the Gurjara king Rāmabhadra who suffered reverse at the hands of the Pāla ruler of Bengal, as he is not credited with any victory either in the Gurjara copper plates, nor in the stone inscriptions.

Rāmabhadra had to pay for his licentious character. If the evidence from the *Bappa Bhaṭṭi-carita* is believed, he met his end at the hands if his own son Bhoja who killed him outright and ascended the throne. With him, thus, ended the first phase of the Gurjara-Pratihāra history of Kanauj.

1. E. I. Vol. II p. 162 v. 9.



CHAPTER IV

FROM BHOJA TO MAHENDRAPĀLA

Bhojadeva, son of Rāmabhadra from Appadevī, possibly the greatest Emperor of Northern India in the early Mediaeval period, is known to history by several names which are used as his *birudas*. The Daulatpur inscription,[1] while mentioning his full name Mahārāja Śrī Bhojadeva, ascribes him a *biruda* Prabhāsa (*prabhāsena prayuktasya śāsanasya*) which may be compared with Bhāka[2] and Harṣa[3] given to Mahendrapāla and Vinayakapāla respectively with the same formulae. Another name of Bhoja-Śrīmad Ādivarāha appears in the Gwalior inscription[4] of Alla dated in the Year V. 932, while the other record from the same temple of Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin dated in the Year V. 933, mentions his full name Parameśvara Śrī Bhojadeva.[5] There is yet a third *biruda* of this Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler. The Sagartal Praśasti[6] calls him Mihira—also known as Bhoja. The addressing of this ruler by different names, besides his familiar one Bhoja, need not cause surprise,[7] nor could it be assumed that the king was known by different names in different regions. In fact, in the Gwalior Praśasti he is called Ādivarāha as well as Mihira. The etymology of the *birudas* does not shed any light on the personal religion of the King. The two *birudas*-Ādivarāha and Mihira, if interpreted literally, might signify that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu, and of Sun, but, unlike his father, Rāmabhadra, who was a votary of Sun (*Paramādityabhakta-Mahārāja Śrī Rāmabhadra*) or his great grandfather Devaśakti who was a devotee of Viṣṇu (*Param Vaiṣṇava Mahārāja-Śrī Devaśaktideva*), this king was a Śākta attached to Bhagavatī (*Param Bhagavatī-Bhakta*). It is, therefore, clear that the *birudas*, used for Bhoja in different inscriptions, have little significance from the point of view of personal religion of the Emperor.

Bhojadeva seems to have started his career as the king of Kanauj with a debit balance of reverses and defeats suffered by his father Rāmabhadra which had considerably lowered the prestige of the Pratihāra family. New forces had started working and this Gurjara Pratihāra ruler had to harness all his resources with a view to regaining the lost prestige and territory, and once again, attaining the supreme power and

1. E. I. Vol. V p. 212 L. 15.
2. I. A. Vol. XV p. 113 L. 13.
3. ibid., p. 141 L. 16.
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 156 L.6; the name [Va]rāha is noticed in a fragmentary Pratihāra inscription from Bhavanagar. It is very likely that this inscription refers to the Gurjara Pratihara king Bhoj (E. I. Vol. XIX p. 176 1.11).
5. E. I. Vol. I p. 159 L.2.
6. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 109 L.11.
7. The use of *birudas* and epithets has been quite common. The Nausari inscription associates four epithets with the name of the Cālukya King Pulakeśi—*Dakṣiṇāpathasādhaka-Caluki* [*ka*] *kulālaṃkāra*, *Prithvīvallabha*, *Anivarttakānivarttāydri* and *Avanijanāśraya*. (Vienna Oriental Congress-Aryan Section p. 232 1.34). Bhoja's son Mahendrapāla is also addressed by several other names—*Mahendrāyudha*, (Una), *Nirbhayarāja* and *Nirbhayanarendra* (Rājaśekhara).

position enjoyed by his predecessors. In achieving this, the king had to face a sea of troubles and it took him time to consolidate his position for the fulfilment of his mission in life. He had to come into clash with those feudatories who had declared their independence and also with other powers including his old enemies, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He, no doubt, made alliances with various other powers, such as, the Guhilas and the Cedis. The struggle against the Pālas continued for sometime till the weak rulers of Bengal had no more the virility of Dharampāla and his son Devapāla, and Bhoja was ultimately successful in establishing his hold up to the border of Western Bengal. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, broken by internal dissensions, felt that they had little to gain from the expensive incursions in the North. Bhoja was, thus, left out as the strongest ruler in Northern India, and his position was recognised by the Arab historians as well who addressed him as Baüra. A comprehensive record of this ruler can be compiled by taking stock of the material available from the inscriptions of this ruler himself, his successors, contemporaries, the account in Kalhanás *Rājataranginī*, and lastly, the testimony of the Arab historians.

Sources. Bhoja's personal records and those of his successors may be arranged chronologically. The earliest record of the time of Emperor Bhoja is the Barah (Kanpur dist. U.P.), now Lucknow Museum plate,[1] issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj) and dated on the Kārttika—sudi 5 in the Vikrama Saṁvat 893. It records that the grant was originally made by Parmeśvara Sarva-Varmmadeva, and sanctioned by Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadeva. This grant was disturbed in the time of Mahārāja Rāmabhadradeva through the fault of some judiciary officer (*Vyavahārin*), and so it was restored by Bhojadeva. The inscription also traces the genealogy of the Pratihāra family from Mahārāja Devaśakti up to Mahārāja Bhoja, a worshipper of Bhagavati.

The Daulatpur (Jodhpur State, Rajputana), now Ajmer Museum plate[2] of the Pratihāra Mahārāja Bhojadeva, surnamed Prabhāsa, issued from Mahodaya and dated Phalguṇa-sudi 13 in the Vikrama Saṁvat 900, records the renewal of a grant which had been made by the king's great-grandfather, Mahārāja Vatsarāja, and continued by his grandfather, Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadeva, but which had fallen into abeyance in his reign. It contains the same genealogy, as mentioned in the earlier record and refers to Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa, as the *dūtaka* of this record.

The Deogarh (Jhansi dist. U.P.), Jain pillar inscription[3] of the time of the Pratihāra Bhojadeva of Kanauj, and of his Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma dated Aśvayuja-śukla-pakṣa-caturddasyām, in the Vikrama Saṁvat 919=Thursday 10th September A.D. 862 (by

1. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 17 ff. The epithet of Parameśvara reminds one of Sarvavarman, the Maukhari king who is likewise called Paramesvara in the Asirgarh seal inscription (Fleet, C.I.I. p. 219). Hirānand Śāstri doubts the identification on the supposition that he could not be a contemporary of the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa (E.I. Vol. XIX p. 16). We would like to suggest that this grant was originally made in the time of the Maukhari king, and was sanctioned by Nāgabhaṭa when that territory passed into the hands of the Pratihāra rulers. The epithet Parameśvara used for Sarvavaraman, and the title Mahārāja for Nāgabhaṭa cannot be explained in any other way. It would be absurd to presume that in a record, wherein both the feudatory and his supreme lord are associated, the former be given the higher epithet.

2. Op. cit.

3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 310.

computation) records the setting up of a pillar near the temple of the holy (Jain Arhat) Śānti (Śāntinātha) by Deva, a disciple of Ācarya Kamaladeva.

Two other records from Gwalior are dated in the month of Vaiśākha 932,[1] and Māgha Śukla dvitīyām Vikrama Samvat 933[2] respectively. The first one of the time of Ādivarāha (Bhojadeva), refers to Nāgara Bhaṭṭakumāra of the Varjjāra family, originally from Ānandapura in the Lāṭa Province, and mentions the appointment of Vāillabhaṭṭa, as warden of Marches (*maryādā-dhurya*) by Rāmadeva (evidently Rāmabhadra), and his son Alla, who succeeded him in that office to the guardianship of Gopādri (Gwalior) by Ādivarāha. It further refers to the construction of a Viṣṇu temple by Alla which was consecrated in the year 932

The other record, dated in the V. S. 933, and of the time of the Pratihāra Parameśvara Bhojadeva, records four donations to the two temples which had been built by Alla, the son of Vāillabhaṭṭa, called in this record 'the guardian of the fort' (Koṭṭapāla) of Gopādri (Gwalior). The donee of the first record was the Navadurgā temple, situated beyond the Vriścikā river (probably another name of the river Suvarṇarekhā), while those of the three remaining grants were the Navadurgā temple of the earlier record, and the Viṣṇu temple called Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin. The donors of these four endowments were the inhabitants of the place (sthāna). The inscriptin also furnishes material dealing with the economic life of that period.

The Ahar stone inscription[3] is a collective copy of a series of different documents recorded at different times. Of these Nos. I. II. and IX. can, with certainty, be ascribed to the time of Bhoja. The first simply states that the excellent eulogy was engraved at Tattānandapura on the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśira [Harṣa] Samvat 259 = A.D. 865 (given in words and figures) in the reign of Mahārāja Bhojadeva, meditating on the feet of Mahārāja Rāmabhadradeva. The other two documents which can, with certainty, be attributed to the time of Bhoja, do not mention his name. No. II, dated on the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Āṣādha in the [Harṣa] Samvat 258 (in words and figures) records the purchase and assignment of an *āvāri* to the temple of Kañcanādevī by Bhadraprakāśa of the Vaṇik-varkkaṭa caste who had migrated from Bhillamala, and Gośuka of Lamba-Kañcuka-vaṇik caste. The other one (IX) is dated on the third tithi of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha in the year 261 elapsed of the Harṣa era. It records the purchase by the Sauvarnika mahājana with the money belonging to the illustrious Kañcanaśrīdevī a house by a sale deed of the extreme duration of ninety-nine years, from the merchant Mādhava who belonged to the Māthura caste and was a seller of perfumes, and had originally purchased the house from his own money. Three documents, nos. III, VIII and X, are of the time of Mahendrapāla, while the remaining four—nos. IV-VII—their dates ranging between A.D. 886 and A.D. 902—must have been issued in the time of either Bhoja or Mahendrapāla. We shall consider them along with those of the time of Mahendrapāladeva.

The next in chronological order is the Peheva (Pehoa) (Karnal dist. Punjab) record[4] of the time of Mahārāja Bhojadeva, successor to Mahārāja Rāmabhadradeva and dated

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 156.
2. Ibid., p. 159.
3. E. I. Vol. XIX pp. 52 ff.
4. E. I. Vol. I pp. 186 ff.

on the ninth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Harṣa year 276. It records an agreement, mutually entered upon by certain pious traders who had met at the horse fair at Pehoa, with a view to imposing upon themselves and their customers certain taxes or tithes, the proceeds of which were to be distributed among some temples, priests and sanctuaries in duly specified proportions. This inscription is also important from the point of view of cultural history.

The other records of the time of Bhoja, which are undated, include the famous Sagartal Praśasti[1] of Bhoja — called Mihira in this record; and it mentions the erection of a house in his seraglio by the king in honour of Viṣṇu. As a Praśasti, it eulogises all the kings of this family, and mentions political events connected with individual rulers.

The Delhi fragmentary inscription[2] of the time of Śrī Bhojadeva refers to the acquisition of half the site by somebody whose name has not survived, while the next line refers to the construction of a Devakula of which the boundaries are not specified.

A fragmentary inscription,[3] now deposited in the Barton Museum at Bhavnagar, mentions the name (Va)rāha which reminds one of '*Ādivarāha*', the *biruda* of Bhojadeva. It is very likely that the inscription is meant for the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. It also mentions the hasty retreat of Kriṣṇarāja to his own country ,who may be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Akālavarṣa Kriṣṇa II (875-911 A.D.), a contemporary of Bhoja.

Amongst the records of his successors, the Una plate[4] issued by Mahendrapāla's feudatory Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman II records certain events connected with Balavarman, very probably a feudatory of Bhojadeva, who defeated a certain Viṣadha and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings freed the earth from the Hūṇa race..

Among the non-Gurjara records, the Cātsu inscription[5] of Bālāditya of the Guhila family mentions one Śaṅkaragana of this family who conquered Bhaṭa, King of the Gauda country, and made a present of this country to his overlord. He had a son named Harṣarāja from queen Yajjā. He conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja. The identity of this Bhoja has to be considered with a view to finding out if he was Bhoja I or Bhoja II.

We also propose taking into consideration the evidence from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[6] and the account left by the Arab Chronicler Sulaiman[7] who testifies to the ability of this ruler. He maintained a standing army to preserve the integrity of the State. These sources have to be considered.

Accession and Conquests : Ascending the throne, Bhoja's main task was to integrate the loose fabrics of his father's tottering kingdom . In trying to achieve this

1. E. I. Vol. XVIII pp. 107 ff.
2. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1905-06 p. 183.
3. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 175.
4. E. I. Vol. IX. pp. 1 ff.
5. E. I. Vol. XII. pp. 13 ff.
6. V. v. VV. 48-51 ; Stein : Trans p. 206.
7. Elliot and Dowson : Vol. I. p. 4.

end, he came into clash with the other powers of Northern India—especially the Pālas in the east and Kashmir in the north-west. Certain other powers, like the Guhilas and the Cedis, joined hands with him. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were engulfed in their domestic struggles, but Bhoja did measure swords with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarat, with indecisive result. The record of Bhoja's achievement is spread over a fairly long period, as the King ascended the throne sometime in A.D. 836 (Barah record), and he ruled at least till the year A.D. 882. (Pehova record). There is, however, a possibility of his continuing a little longer.

Campaign in the North and North-West. Immediately after his accession to the throne, Bhoja seems to have conquered those rulers who were formerly feudatories to his grandfather, but had broken off ties in the time of his father. In this category may be placed the chief of the Udumbaraviṣaya of the Kālañjara maṇḍala, lying in the Kānyakubja bhukti. The grant of Valakāgrahāra in that district was kept in abeyance in the time of his father, and Bhoja renewed it on the old terms, as sanctioned by his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa.[1] The hold of the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler over Bundelkhand seems to be an established fact, and it is suggested by traditions[2] that Candravarman overthrew the Parihāras in Bundelkhand. Dr. H. C. Ray presumes that the Candella Nannuka was at first a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II, and he ruled over a small principality round about Khajuraho. He also suggests that Jayaśakti was at first a mere feudatory, perhaps of the great Gurjara emperor Bhoja.[3]

The next record refers to the revival of a grant in the year A.D. 843 in Gurjaratrābhūmi,[4] which was originally made by Vatsarāja and confirmed by Nāgabhaṭa, but was discontinued in the time of Rāmabhadra, and remained in that state in the early years of Bhoja's reign. The object of this grant is the village of Sivā in the Deṇḍavānaka-Viṣaya of the Gurjaratrābhūmi. As the record was found among the ruins of an ancient temple near the village of Sivā (Sewa) about 7 miles east north east of Didwana in Jodhpur, it is easy to identify the village mentioned in the grant with the modern village Sivā (Sewa), and the old Deṇḍavānaka Viṣaya with the Didwana district in the Jodhpur State. The desuetude of the grant and the chronological posterity of the Daulatpur record raise certain issues pertaining to the relationship between the family of Kanauj and that of Haricandra. We learn from the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka that Kakka had taken Mudgagiri from the Gauḍas, and his son from Padminī of the Bhaṭṭi family named Bāuka killed Nandavalla, slew Mayūra and quelled a confederacy of nine maṇḍalas. It has been suggested earlier that Kakka had fought as an ally of Nāgabhaṭa II in the fight against the Pālas and distinguished himself. Bāuka, son of Kakka was a contemporary of Bhoja. Now the question is : Does the Jodhpur record suggest the independent

1. Ref. Barah Record. Op. cit.
2. J.A.S.B. 1881 Vol. L p. 3. The date of this event is given as Sam 677. The local traditions are least reliable as they furnish confused and conflicting details. It is probable that, from the time of Bhoja, Gurjara domination over that region remained undisturbed, till the weak rulers of Kānyakubja failed and paved the way for the Candellas to emerge as a very strong power in Central India. This seems to have happened in the time of Dhaṅga. It is unlikely that the Gurjara Pratihāras could be driven out of their dominions when they were at the height of their power.
3. Dynastic History of Northern India Vol. II pp. 668, 670.
4. Ref. Daulatpur record, Op. cit.

character of Bāuka ? The answer seems to be in the negative. It is very doubtful if Bauka was an independent ruler. The panegyric of any ruler by his bard does not suggest his independent status. If we accept the supreme position of Bāuka, we would have to place a few others as well in the same category, and at the same time, which is improbable. We thus find another record dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 898 = 16th April 842 (by computation) from Dholpur of the Cāhamāna Caṇḍa-Mahāsena[1] who was obeyed by the Mleccha rulers on the Carmanavatī (evidently Cambal). It was really impossible for an ordinary chief of a small locality to overpower the hardy Musalmans noted for their incursions, unless he had the support of his overlord. The reference, thus, points to Bhoja's suzerainty extending over that region and Mlecchas (Arabs) submission to Bhoja (Baura) of the Arab Historians. This analogy might as well apply to Bāuka who is not attributed any regal title It is probable that his achievements—the slaying of Nandavalla and Mayūra, and quelling the confederacy of nine maṇḍalas –might have been in his capacity as the feudatory to his overlord Bhoja. If the Siwa grant was kept in abeyance during his lifetime, it might have been due to those confederates and certain other factors rather than to Bāuka. It is clear that the Gurjara Pratihāra rule extended over the Gurjaratrā region. We propose considering the relations between the two Pratihāra families, once again, while noticing the Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Kakkuka.

The conquest of the northern region comprising the Gorakhpur district in the east, and the Karnal district in the west is revealed from several records. The Kahla Plates[2] of the Vikrama year 1134-1135 = A.D. 1077-78, discovered in the Dhuryiapur Paragana of the Gorakhpur district, of the time of the Kalacuri P.M.P. Sodhadeva informs us that Gunāmbhōdhidēva (Gunasāgara I), son of Śaṁkaragana (1) received a tract of land from Bhojadeva (*Bhojaderāpta-bhūmiḥ*) and he snatched away the fortune of the Gauda. Probably he helped Bhoja in his northern and eastern conquests. Soḍhadeva, the donor was ninth in generation from Gunāmbhodhideva, and allowing 25 years per generation we fix A.D. 852 as the time of Gunāmbhodhideva and his contact with Bhoja I. The relations between the Gurjara Pratihāras and the Pālas have to be reviewed separately. Here it may be suggested that the northern conquests probably included the eastern districts of U.P. and Bihar, comprising Gorakhpur and Saran districts. The Dighwa Dubauli (Saran dist.) plate[3] of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva, issued from Mahodaya suggests the extension of the Gurjara Pratihāra empire as far as Bihar. He might have conquered this part from the Pālas, or earlier in the course of his expedition against the Pālas.

The conquest of the kings in the north is evident from the Cātsu inscription[4] of Bālāditya. It affirms that Harṣarāja Guhila conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja (*jitvā yaḥ sakalān udīcya-nripatīn Bhojāya bhaktyā dadau*). This Guhila ruler Harṣarāja was an ally of the great King Bhoja, and it is reasonable to presume that the campaign in the north was undertaken at the command, and in company with the Pratihāra ruler rather than in his individual capacity.

1. Z. D. M. G. Vol. XL pp. 39 ff. The word *Mleccha* is used for the Arabs in the Sāgartal (Gwalior) inscription of Bhoja (1.3), and also in several later records (Bhandarkar's List, nos. 475, 579 etc.).
2. E. I. Vol. VII pp. 85 ff.
3. I. A. Vol. XII p. 112.
4. E. I. Vol. XII pp. 13 ff.

The campaign in the North-west, resulting in the conquest of eastern Punjab can be ascertained from the Pcheva inscription[1] dated in the year 276 of the Harṣa era=A.D. 882.[2] The inscription makes it certain that East Punjab comprising the Karnal distirct definitely constituted part of the Gurjara Pratihāra empire, and it is probable that it extended a little further in the west. Here we might take into consideration the following verses paraphrased and quoted in translation from Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*: "The Kashmir prince Śaṅkaravarman (*c.* 883-902) A.D. uprooted in battle in a moment the firmly rooted fortune of Alakhana, king of Gurjara, and made a long grief rise in its place. The ruler of Gurjara gave up to him the Ṭakka-land preserving [thereby] his own country, as (if he had saved) his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger. He caused the sovereign power, which the superior king Bhoja had seized, to be given to the scion of the Ṭakkiya family, who had become his servant in the office of his Chamberlain." It is suggested that Bhoja (probably Bhoja I) was the supreme lord and his empire extended up to the Ṭakka land. Alakhana, king of Gurjara was ruling over that region, probably, as a feudatory of Bhoja, and, when Śaṅkaravarman attacked that region, as suggested by the poet, the Gurjara gave the Ṭakka land with a view to preserve his own country. Bhoja's authority automatically lapsed. This event probably happened at the end of Bhoja's career when the enfeebled emperor was not strong enough to come to the rescue of his ally, and quietly witnessed the decline of his power in the north-west. It is proposed by D. R. Bhandarkar that Alakhana was the ruler of Gurjara, that is, Gujarat and Gujaranwala districts of the Punjab. He did not take into consideration the position of Ṭaki or Ṭakka land which included Gujarat and Gujranwala districts of West Punjab,[3] nor did he explain the implication of the subsequent verse mentioning the relinquishing of the Ṭakka land by the Gurjara lord with a view to preserving his own country. It appears that Alakhana was the ruler of that part of the Gurjara country which abutted on the Ṭakka[4] land, and consequent to the conquest of the Punjab by Bhoja he was appointed a feudatory for that province as well. He continued in that position till the invasion of Śaṅkaravaraman.

According to Dr. H. C.[5] Ray, the verses from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* indicate that there was an alliance between the Gurjara king Allakhana and the *adhirāja* Bhoja whose authority he was acknowledging against the common enemies. By reversing the policy of friendship towards the Ṣāhia, Śaṅkaravarman only made the task of the defence of Indian frontier against Islam all the more difficult. It is suggested by Śri K. M. Munshi that Śaṅkaravarman regained the territory in the Punjab which Bhoja had conquered from the Thakkiya family at a time when the Gurjara-Pratihāra overlord was preoccupied in the

1. Op. cit.
2. Book V. v 155, Stein Vol. I, pp. 205-206.
3. The Kingdom which Hiuen Tsang called Tse-kia or Ṭaki, embraced the whole of the plains of the Punjab from the Indus to the Bias, and from the foot of the mountains to the junction of the five rivers below Multan (Beal, Vol. I pp. 165 ff). The earliest Muslim author who mentions Taki is the merchant Sulaiman who visited the east before A.D. 851, when his account was written. He describes Tafak as not of very great extent, and its king as weak, and subject to the neighbouring princes (Elliot and Dowson Vol. I p. 4).
4. The position of Jurz or Juzr, read in Arabic character as *Haraz* or *Hazar and Kharaz* or *Khazaras* as well as Jurz or Juzr, is fairly certain. According to Sulaiman, Haraz was bounded on one side by Tafak or Takin—evidently Western Punjab. (ibid p. 4; p. 360).
5. Dynastic History of N. India. Vol. I. pp. 74-75.

east. It is proposed that this event took place when the enfeebled emperor had not the strength enough to come to the rescue of his vassal. Eastern Punjab continued to be in the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, as is evident from the Peheva record, cited earlier.

The Arab merchant Sulaiman[2] has made an interesting reference to the king of Jurz noted for his riches, and his camels and horses are described as numerous. This sentence might signify that his kingdom included those countries which were noted for these animals. We learn from the Peheva record that Pṛithudaka was an important centre for horse trading, while Rajputana, the ancient Gurjaradeśa, is still noted for camels. It, thus, corroborates the assertion that Bhoja's empire extended up to the borders of Sindh, and might have included some parts of it.

Conquest of Western and Central India. The inclusion of Cutch and Kathiawar region in the Gurjara Pratihāra empire is evinced from the Una Copper Plates of the time of Mahendrapāla[3]. The family of Bāhukadhavala, who caused Dharma to flee and defeated a Karnāṭa army, remained devoted to the overlords at Kanauj. We find Avanivarman II-Yoga, who vanquished Yakṣadāsa and put to flight Dharanivarāha, making this grant with the approval of Dhika, the *tantrapāla* of Mahenrapāladeva. Between Bāhukadhavala and Avanivarman II were two other feudatories, Avanivarman I and his son Balavarman who defeated a certain Viṣadha and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings, "freed the earth from the Hūṇa race'. The latter seems to be the feudatory of Bhoja of Kanauj, and the defeat of this Viṣadha and the slaying of Jajjapa and other kings are events connected with Bhoja's conquest in that region.[4] This is the first record of the Post-Harṣa period which mentions a Hūṇa ruler. It is difficult to suggest if there was any powerful Hūṇa Kingdom. On the authority of Plate B of the three inscriptions from Gaori, 3 miles to the north of Narwal and 11 miles south-west of Ujjain, dated in the V. S. 1088 = A.D. 981 which mentions Hūna maṇdala with its Avangabhoga, it may be suggested that the Hūna manḍala was somewhere in Western Malwa. Balavarman had no business to trek all the way from Kathiawar to Malwa except on behalf of his overlord Bhoja. It is difficult to establish the identity of Viṣadha.

Sometime back Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari[5] referred to a passage from the *Vastrāpatha māhātmya*, a section of the *Prabhāsa-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* dealing with the sacred sites of Girnar, tending to show that Bhoja's authority extended up to Saurāṣtra or Kathiawar. It is needless to go into the story céntring round a woman with the face of a doe accompanying a herd of deer in the forests at Raivāṭaka, her capture by the Balādhyakṣa, and her revelations at Kānyakubja referring to the sanctity of the waters of the Suvarṇarekhā. The story is incredible, but it adduces the following points which deserve consideration. Firstly, it refers to Bhoja's connection with Saurāṣṭra where he appointed a Vanapāla, and despatched his army (VI. 25 f.). Secondly, Bhoja is mentioned as the Emperor of Kanauj (*Kānyakubje mahākṣetre rājā Bhojeti viṣṇutaḥ purā puṇyayuge*

1. Glory that was Gurjaradeśa : (2nd Ed.) p. 119.
2. Elliot and Dowson : Op. cit. p. 4.
3. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 1 ff.
4. cf. Haḍḍala (Kathiawar) plate of the Cāpa Mahāsāmanta Dharaṇivarāha, a feudatory of the Rājadhirāja Mahendrapāladeva (I.A. Vol. XII pp. 193 ff.).
5. I. H. Q. Vol. V. pp. 129-135.

dharmayaḥ prajādharmeṇa śāsati (VI. 20). Lastly, this king is supposed to have abdicated, though temporarily, in favour of his son. We propose considering here the first two points, and reserve the last one till the end.

It is clear from the Una Plates that Bhoja's empire extended up to Kathiawar, and he ascended the throne at Kanauj. His earliest record, the Barah inscription, was issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj). Thus, the data presented by the *Vastrāpatha-māhātmya*-a section in the *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*-seem to be in conformity with facts known from other sources,and its evidentiary value as a corroborative piece of evidence be accepted only with reference to the facts stated above. As regards Bhoja's abdication, we shall consider that point later on.

We have still another piece of evidence suggesting expeditions, undertaken by Bhojadeva in the western regions. The Partapgarh inscription,[1] of Mahendrapāla II, discovered in South Rajputana, mentions that a Cāhamāna family of kings was a source of great pleasure to King Bhojadeva (*yo rājñām=upari sthitaḥ vasumatīrakṣārtham=utpāditaḥ (to), yen=ocaiḥ sukham=āsitam kṣitibhṛitā Śrī Bhojadevena ca.* (L.14). The first prince of this family was Govindarāja. His son was Durlabhrāja, and the latter's son was Indrarāja at whose request the village Dharapadraka was granted for repairs to, and for the performance of *bali* and *cāru* rites on the site in Ghoṇṭavarṣika, attached to the god Nityapramuditadeva. Mādhava was the *tantrapāla*, *mahāsāmanta* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, and stationed at Ujjain. It can be presumed that he was acting as the governor of Mahendrapāla II who was the donor of the first grant. As the inscription ends with the Samvat 1003, it can easily be suggeted that all these grants were consolidated by that time. Now, if Indrapāla becomes a feudatory of Mahendrapāla II, it may be inferred that his granfather was a feudatory of Bhoja, the great-grandfather of Mahendrapāla II, and was a source of pleasure to his overlord. The Pratihāra hold over Rājputana was undisturbed.

The Deogarh (Jhansi dist.) inscription[2], dated in the year 919, and the Gwalior inscription of the year 932 and 933 A.D.,[3] all the three of the time of Bhoja suggest that the region covered by these records was in the possession of this ruler. The first one, recorded on a Jain pillar, mentions the *mahāsāmanta* Viṣṇurāma who was the governor of Luacchagiri (Deogarh). The appointment of a Provincial head in the Jhansi district was not without significance. We also learn from the first Gwalior inscription that Vāillabhaṭṭa, son of Nāgarbhaṭṭa, originally from Anandapura in the Lāṭa Province, was appointed Warden of Marches (*maryādā-dhurya*) by Rāmadeva, and his son Alla, who succeeded in the office was appointed to the guardianship of Gopādrī (Gwalior) by Ādivarāha. The other record of V.933 from Gwalior also mentions Alla as the then guardian of the fort (*Koṭṭapāla*). These appointments were of much political and strategic importance, and the location of a Provincial seat at Deogarh was meant to keep an eye on the Gurjara Pratihāra territories and feudatories in south-western Rajaputana. We find that in the time of Mahendrapāla II, nearly twenty years after Bhojadeva, the Provincial seat was either shifted to Ujjain, or another satrapy was set up for that region.[4]

1. E. I. Vol. XIV pp. 176 ff.
2. Op. cit.
3. Op. cit.
4. Ref. Partapgarh Inscription, E. I. Vol. XIV pp. 178 ff.

Relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The relation between Bhoja and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers—Amoghavarṣa and Kriṣṇa II can be traced in three phases. The first one was of inactivity on both the sides ; the second one was marked with indirect clash—the main line probably allied itself with the feudatory one against the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler. The third phase was one of understanding between the two powers through some intermediary. In the first stage Amoghavarṣa, whose succession was disputed, had to encounter a number of revolts, and he was engaged in destroying his enemies and re-conquering his kingdom which had fallen off and was tottering.[1] He had, therefore, little opportunity to attack the north. The Sirur inscription[2] claims that worship was done to him by the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Mālava and Veṅgi, but as regards the first three places which lay farther east in the direction of Bengal, the assertion is doubtless exaggerative. There is not a word in any of the records of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler suggesting Amoghavarṣa's campaign in the north.

The second phase is illustrated by a number of records of the branch line mentioning clashes with the Gurjaras. Of these, the Bagumra inscription mentions Bhoja by his *biruda* Mihira. These records need careful analysis. A grant of Dhruva III[3] of Broach, discovered at Bagumra and edited by Buhler and Hultzsch, refers to the feudatory line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This insctiption mentions Karka III, and his son Dhruva II also called Nirupama who, according to V.32, lost his life in battle after putting to flight the army of a king named Vallabha. Dhruva's son was Akālavarṣa or Śubhatuṅga whose wicked servants were disloyal, and he had to recover his paternal realm which had been attacked by Vallabha (V.34). The latter's son and successor was Dhruva III, the donor of the grant who, according to V.37, had again trouble with hostile (*vimukha*) Vallabha, and with seditious kinsmen (*vikritimāgatā bāndhavāḥ*). Moreover, he was assailed by a powerful army of the Gurjaras with whom an unnamed younger brother of his had allied himself (V.38). The inscription also refers to a King Mihira who, though united to fortune, surrounded by a crowd of noble kinsmen and with courage conquered (all)

1. E. I. Vol. I. p. 53. The Surat Plate issued on the 13th day of May 821 A.D. describes the restoration of Amoghavarṣa to the throne, brought about by the exertions of Karka (Altekar, Rāṣṭrakūṭas p. 74). It appears from the Konnur inscription of Amoghavarsa I, that the reign of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler was one of internal revolts, and before 860 A.D. at least three serious rebellions had broken out, challenging the Imperial authority. The fiirst one broke out when he was a child, the second one when he was engaged in war against his Gujarat cousins, and the third one sometime later. Details about these revolts are not given, but it seems that the third one was a very serious one (E.I. Vol. VI pp. 30 ff. VV 28-29). The situation was saved by the timely arrival of his Banavasi Viceroy, Bāṅkeya. The Sañjan Plates of this ruler dated in Śamvat 783 of the Śaka era = A.D. 861 inform us that just when Amoghavarsa ascended the throne, some of this feudatories, ministers and relations became disappointed and raised the standard of revolt (VV. 35, 36) but it was through the help of Āryapātālamala that he succeeded in quelling the rebellion (V. 41). One verse refers to some public calamity, and the King, called here Vīra-Nārāyana, cut off his finger and dedicated it to the goddess Mahālaksmī. It would not be unwise to suggest that Karka of the Surat Plate and this Pātālamala were identical.
2. I. A. Vol. XII pp. 219 ff.
3. I. A. Vol. XII pp. 179 ff. These verses have been quoted by all scholars as referring to Dhruva II (Ref. R. C. Majumdar, J.D.L. Vol. X p. 50. R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj p. 242 ; Altekar, History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas p. 85 ; Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts p. 405). Bühler and Hultzsch, who edited the record associate these verses with Dhruva III. (Op. cit.). The anomaly can be explained if we exclude Dhruva, father of Indra III who founded this feudatory line, from the list given in this record.

the regions of the world, he, nevertheless, disappeared, his face being covered by darkness of Dhārāvarṣa that was greater than his own. (V.41). Dhruva's position as a feudatory prince, may be considered certain on account of the epithets—*mahasāmantādhipati*, and *samadhigatāśeṣamahāśabda* which are attributed to him in this grant.

It appears from this inscription that three generations of rulers Dhruva II, his son Akālavarṣa and grandson Dhruva III had trouble from the King named Vallabha who may be identified with Amoghavarṣa or Sarva of the main Rāṣṭrakūṭa line. As this king ruled for well over sixty years, it is probable that he was a contemporary of three generations of rulers of the Gujarat line. Dhruva has used epithets which are suggestive of his feudatory character, and it is probable that he patched up differnces with Amoghvarṣa of the main line with a view to fighting the common enemy. The record is dated in the Śaka year 789=A.D. 867.

A grant of Krisṇarāja of A.D. 888, discovered with the one mentioned above at Bagumra, mentions in stanza 23 some prince vanquishing his enemies at Ujjayīni before the eyes of King Vallabha. Krisṇarāja is the last known ruler of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In this record there is no reference to Akālavarṣa Śubhatuṅga or Dhruva III after Dhruva II, but King Dantivarman is mentioned in stanza 20, who might have been Krisṇa's father ruling between Śaka 789 and 810 = A.D. 867 and 888. This Krisṇa, like his predecessor must have been a vassal to some sovereign power, probably the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of Mānyakheta.[1] This fact seems to corroborate the earlier suggestion regarding the patching up of the differences between the two families.

There is a third record from Bagumra of Indra[2] which informs us that old men vividly remembered in A.D. 914 (when the Plates were issued) the brave feats of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors in the sanguinary wars with the Gurjaras. The crown Prince Jagattuṅga also participated in these wars, and so also did the Cedi ruler.[3]

As against the evidence, adduced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, the Barton Museum inscription mentions Krisṇarāja retreating hastily to his country. The struggle between the Gurjara Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory King, no doubt backed by Amoghavarṣa, seems to be indecisive in results. Bhoja had to retreat but he never gave up his ambition to conquer the South. The Gwalior inscription of V. S. 932 = A.D. 875 suggests that he was still wishing to conquer the three worlds (*Śrīmad-Ādivarāhena trailokyaṁ vijigīsunā*)! It seems that Bhoja retreated from the south sometime before A.D. 867, and at the time of the Gwalior record he was anxious to wage another war in the south. With the help of his feudatory in Kathiawar, he forced Krisṇarāja to retreat hastily to his country. Later at Ujjayinī, the Gurjara king seems to have been defeated, as we notice in the grant of Krisṇaraja of Aṅkuleśvara. This was probably the time when there was trouble in the north-west and Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir had wrested Ṭakka land, and destroyed the supremacy of Bhoja in that region lying north-west.

Relations with the Pālas. The troubled conditions in the South left the Gurjaras and the Pālas free to fight for supremacy in the North. It has been made clear that Nāgabhata had defeated the Pāla ruler and in his time the Pratihāra capital was shifted

1. E. I. Vol. IX p. 24.
2. ibid.
3. I. A. Vol. XII p. 265.
4. Op. cit. V 22.

to Kanauj. Two Pāla inscriptions—Badal and Mungir, the Gwalior Prasāsti of Bhoja, the Cātsu inscription of Balāditya and the Kahla Plates of the Kalacuri King Sodhadeva are important for tracing the relations of the Gurjara Pratihāras with the Pālas, especially their clashes and triumphs. We shall consider the Pāla inscriptions first, as it is probable that some of the events described in this record, and pointing to the defeat of the Gurjaras, might have happened earlier than the time of Bhoja.

According to the Badal Pillar inscription[1], which contains an eulogy of five generations of hereditary Brāhmana ministers who served under four rulers of the Pāla dynasty beginning from Dharmapāla, it was Darbhapāṇi's diplomacy which enabled Devapāla to exact tributes from the whole of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Vindhya mountains and from the eastern to the western sea (V.5).[2] It was again the intelligence of Kedāramiśra that enabled Devapāla to enjoy the sea-girt earth after having exterminated the Utkalas,[3] curbed the pride of the Hūṇas,[4] and destroyed the haughtiness of the Dravida[5] and Gurjara

1. E.I. Vol. II, p. 161 ff.
2. According to Dr. Majumdar, the detached conquests show that Devapāla not only maintained intact the empire he had inherited from his father, but also extended its boundaries by the conquest of Assam and Orissa on one side, and Kamboja and Hūna principalities on the other. The claim that he ruled from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, was perhaps not very far from truth, and was in fact a pardonable exaggeration and not a mere bombast (History of Bengal, Vol. I. p. 118 ; of. Tripathi, History of Kanauj p. 240). One would like to suggest that the Pāla empire never extended as far as the Punjab in the west, and the assertion is fantastic. The Kashmir poet has referred to Bhoja's supremacy being recognised in the Punjab prior to the occupation of the Ṭakkiya land by Śamkaravarman.
3. It is suggested that the conquest of Utkala was more through. In addition to the passage quoted above, suggesting the flight of the Utkala King from his capital, the Badal Pillar inscription informs us that the Utkalas were exterminated. The Pālas probably conquered Utkala during, or immediately after the reign of Śivakara, and their boast that they had exterminated the Utkalas was perhaps not altogether unjustified (History of Bengal pp. 117-118).
4. Dr. Majumdar has quoted from the *Harṣacarita* (Chap. V) to suggest that one of the Hūna principalities was situated in Uttarāpatha near the Hiamalayas, and it was probably that principality which was successfully invaded by Devapāla (Op. cit., p. 118). In a note he subsequently refers to a territorial unit called Hūṇa mandala in Malwa mentioned in an inscription of the Paramāra King Vākpatirāja. (E.I. Vol. XIII p. 102). Both Vākapati and Sindhurāja are said to have defeated the Hūṇas. Thus, there was a Hūṇa principality in Malwa, and the Pālas seem to have come into clash with this power rather than with any one in North-West India, if, at all, there was one in that direction.
5. The term Dravida usually denotes the South Indian Peninsula. Dr. Majumdar identifies the defeated ruler with the contemporary Pāndya King Sri-Mara Śri Vallabha who ruled about 815-862 A.D. He has quoted Sinnamarur Plates to suggest that the Pāṅḍya King repulsed a hostile confederation consisting of Gaṅgas, Pallavas, Colas, Kaliṅgas, Magadhas and others at a place identified with modern Kumbakonam. According to V. 15 of the Mungir Plate, the empire of Devapāla was bounded by the Himalayas in the north and Rāmeśvara Setabandhu in the south. He has based the hypothesis of Devapāla military expedition to the extreme south of India in an interesting paper "The Pūrvarāja of the Velvikkuḍi Grant" by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari (Krisnaswami Aiyangar Volume pp. 197 ff.). Dr. A. S. Altekar suggests that the Dravida King was Amoghavarṣa, which Dr. Majumdar presumes to be quite reasonable, but doubts the views about the struggle between the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Dr. Majumdar seems to forget that a ruler who carried his arms up to the country of the Pāndyas should have been weak enough to capitulate before Bhoja. The Gwalior Praśasti makes it clear that it was Dharamapāla's son Devapāla who was defeated by Bhoja, and this fact can not be ignored. One would like to suggest that the expression used here with reference to Dravida is purely an exaggeration.

lords.[1] (*Utkīlit=otkala-kulam-hrita-Hūnagarvam Kharvīkrita-Draviḍa-Gurjaranātha-darpam*)[2]. It has been suggested by Dr. Majumdar[3] that the lord of the Gurjaras, whose pride had been curbed by Devapāla, was none else than Bhoja, I, as this event must have occurred fairly late in the reign of Devapāla, and the credit for this achievement is taken by Kedāramiśra, the grandson of his first minister Darbhapāṇi. He fixes the date of this event between 840 and 850 A.D. Verse 15 of the Mungir grant suggests that Devapāla enjoyed the whole region bounded on the north by the Himalayas, in the south by Rāma's bridge, and by the abodes of Varuṇa and Lakṣmī (i.e. Oceans) on the east and west.[4] This, too, like the earlier description is hyperbolical, rather than a true rendering of facts. It may, however, be assumed that Devapāla had some measure of success, but its probable time has to be determined.

The evidence on the other side is adduced by the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, and the two other records mentioned above. Verse 18 of the Gwalior inscription mentions this event in a poetic manner "The Lakṣmī, the source of fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son who was cast out of the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the kula mountains in the form of Kings of his (Bhoja's) own race, who was marred by an offering (as an oblation) of fried grains, which were the destroyed enemies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by his superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, became a fit remarried bride of that King." This inscription makes it clear that it was Dharmapāla's son Devapāla who was defeated by Bhoja, and not his successors Vigrahapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla as presumed by Dr. Majumdar.[5] In this encounter against Devapāla, Bhoja was joined by Guṇāmbhodhideva, a Kalacuri Prince, who obtained some territory from Bhojadeva. He snatched away the fortune of the Gauḍa.[6] The Cātsu inscription[7] of Bālāditya furnishes an interesting piece of information. We learn that Śaṅkaragaṇa conquered Bhaṭa, king of the Gauḍa country and made a present of this kingdom to his overlord. This event seems to have happened in the time of Nāgabhaṭa, the second. Śaṅkaragaṇa had a son named Harṣarāja from his queen Yajjā. He conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja (V. 19), evidently Bhoja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj. This Harṣarāja had married a princess named Śillā and had from her a son named Guhila who is represented to have vanquished

1. Here, once again, according to Dr. Majumdar, the lord of the Gurjara, whose pride was curbed by Devapāla, was no other than Bhoja I. As the credit for this achievement is taken by Kedāramiśra, the grandson of Darbhapāni, the first minister, he fixes the date of this event between 840 and 850 A.D. (Op. cit. p. 119 ; Tripathi ; Kanauj pp. 240-241). We would, however, suggest that the difference of a couple of years cannot alter the course of history, when there are other facts which show that it was Rāmabhadra in whose time the tragedy might have happened, and Bhoja finally established his position as the supreme monarch of Northern India. It does not make much difference if the event happened in 835 A.D. rather than in 840 A.D. As a matter of fact Dr. Majumdar seems to have built his whole thesis on a solitary instance of the province of Gurjaratrā under another Pratihāra family, but it has been proved that that family was only a feudatory of the main Gurjara Pratihāra line at Kanauj. Bhoja never lost any part of Rajputana at any time in his reign of over half a century.
2. E. I. Vol. II p. 161.
3. Op. cit., p. 119.
4. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 301.
5. Op. cit. p. 128.
6. E. I. Vol. VI pp. 88 ff.
7. E. I. Vol. XII pp. 13 ff.

the Gauḍa king and levied tributes from princes in the east. It appears that both Guhila and Harṣarāja were Bhoja's feudatories the former attended on him in the northern conquest, while the latter was responsible for vanquishing the Gauḍa king. This might imply that there were two invasions of Bengal, one near about A.D. 845, and the other in about A.D. 870. The ruler vanquished by the Guhila might have been some weak successor of Devapāla. Dr. Majumdar[1] refers to the probability of a disputed succession after the death of Devapāla, and it is probable that, once again, Bhoja marched against the Gauḍas.

We, therefore, propose that the evidence from the Badal and the Mungir plate inscriptions refers to the early period of Nāgabhaṭa II's reign, while the success achieved against the Gurjara king during the ministry of Kedāramiśra was in the time of Rāmabhadra. Bhoja seems to have waged two wars against the Pālas. In the first one he was joined by Gunāmbhodhideva, and they defeated Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla. This information is conveyed by the Gwalior Praśasti. The kingdom was returned to the Pāla ruler. The second invasion probably took place in the time of Vigrahapāla, and the Guhila feudatory helped his overlord in inflicting a crushing defeat upon this ruler of Bengal who was vanquished. Shorn of its plume, the Pāla empire now lay totterted. The Pratihāra hold over Bengal continued in the time of Mahendrapāla, as is evident from the find-spots of some of the records of this ruler.

Relations with the Kalacuris : We have referred to a nubmer of princes who were helpful to Bhoja in his campaigns in different directions. Some of them owed hereditary allegiance to the Kanauj family, while others were appointed feudatories for the newly conquered territories in recognition of their services. One such prince was Guṇāmbhodhideva (Gunasāgara I) who is mentioned in the Kahla (Gorakhpur Dist.), now Lucknow Museum Plate[2] of the Kalacuri P. M. P. Sodhadeva, dated in V. S. 1134—35=1077—78 A.D., as receiving a tract of land from Bhojadeva, and snatching away the fortune of the Gauḍas. D. R. Bhandarkar presumes[3] that this Bhojadeva may be identified with Bhojadeva II, but we suggest that the reference is to Bhoja I. This would be evident from several considerations : the absence of Mahendrapāla's name, the reference to Rājaputra of this family conquering Vahali and defeating kings of the east and humbling Kīrtin and other princes, and a very short duration of Bhoja's reign. Rājaputra's achievements could be possible only as an ally of the Kanauj house. Further, Gunāmabodhideva, the contemporary of Bhojadeva, is removed from Sodhadeva by nine kings, covering about 200 years, which make the former a contemporary of Bhoja the Great. It is equally doubtful if Bhoja II could have undertaken any major campaign in his short regal career. There is still another point worth considering. Sodhadeva's father Vyāsa alias Maryadāsāgara recovered his kingdom which was lost by his elder brother Bhīma. Allowance has to be made for this fact also. It is, therefore, possible to push up Guṇāmbhodhideva and make him a contemporary of Bhoja I who ruled roughly till the year 890 A.D. This feudatory received the territory near about Gorakhpur from his overlord Bhojadeva, and continued to owe allegiance to the Kanauj family in the time of Mahendrapāla.

1. Op. cit. p. 129.
2. E. I. Vol. VII. pp. 87 ff.
3. Bhandarkar's List, p. 23 note.

It is evident from Dighwa-Dubauli record that Mahendrapāla's empire included the Saran district of Bihar, and it is inconceivable that the Kalacuri prince Guṇāmbodhideva or his successors could have maintained an independent status.

Relations with the Guhilas. The Cātsu (the principal town of a tehsil in the Jaipur State) inscription of Bālāditya mentions one Harṣarāja, called a *dvija* i.e., a Brahmin, who conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja. He is identified by Bhandarkar[1] with Bhoja I of the Kanauj family. He married a princess named Śillā, and had from her a son called Guhila. With excellent horses from the sea coast, he vanquished the Gauda king and levied tribute from the princes in the east. This conquest must have been done on behalf of or, very probably, in company with the overlord mentioned above, and it is conceivable that both the events are associated with the time of Bhoja I. The inscription suggests that Harṣarāja and his son Guhila were feudatories of the Pratihāras of Kanauj, and, like others, they joined Bhoja in his expeditions towards the north and the east.

Did Bhoja abdicate temporarily? It is suggested by Dr. Raychaudhari on the evidence from the *Vastrāpathamāhātmaya* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, that Bhoja abdicated temporarily with a view to undertaking a pilgrimage to sacred spots. The verse may be quoted here in the original: *tyaktvā rājyam priyān putrān pattyāśva-ratha-kuñjarān. putraṁ rājye pratiṣṭhāpya gantavyam niścitam mayā.* In support of this contention, he has quoted the instance of king Ananta abdicating in favour of his son Kalasa and again resuming control over a part of the kingdom.[2] He accordingly suggests that simultaneous rule of father and son,[3] of uncle and nephew,[4] and the abdication of a father in favour of his son and the resumption of control on account of son's incapacity[5] were not unknown in ancient Indian History.

While we may appreciate the anomalies presented by Dr. Raychaudhari in accepting the data from a late work, we must confess that we are not convinced by his arguments. The earliest record of the time of Mahendrapāla is dated in the year A.D. 893, and it is reasonable to presume that Bhoja ruled till the year A.D. 890, a period of over half a century which was full of turmoils, difficulties and conquests, in all directions culminating in the extension of the Gurjara Pratihāra empire from West Bengal to Kathiawar and from Punjab to the Vindhyas. Actually he had no time to give vent to such feelings. We would, therefore, reject the theory of abdication suggested by Dr. Raychaudhari.

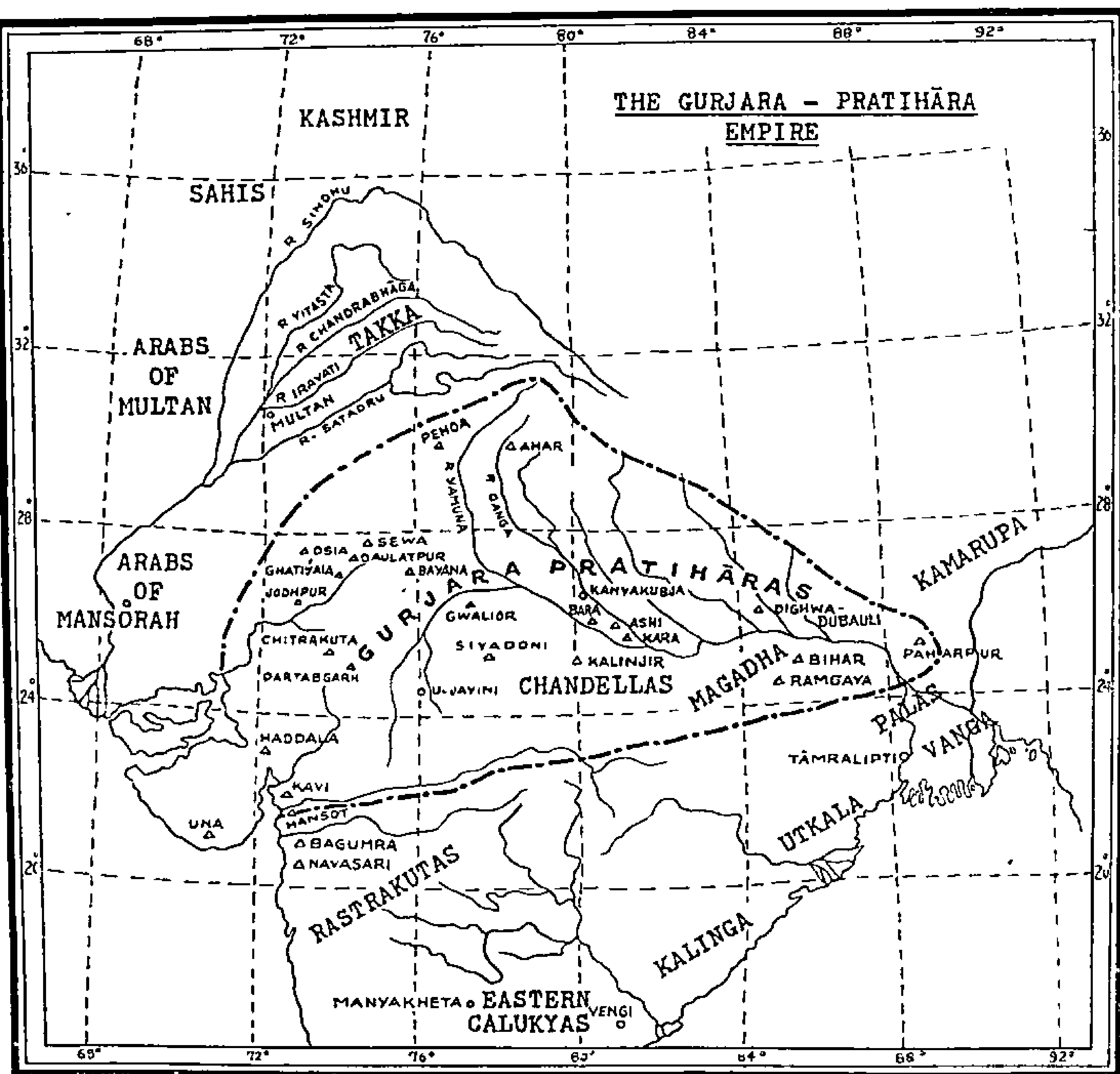
Estimate. An estimate of Bhoja, as a conqueror and as an administrator, is given by the Arab historian Sulaiman who has dubbed him as hostile to the Arabs, and the greatest foe to the Mohammedan faith, but there was no country in India more safe

1. Op. cit. p. 12.
2. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*—VII 231-233.
3. C.H.I. Vol. I pp. 572, 573; E.H.I. p. 486.
4. C. H. I. Vol. I p. 574, 578.
5. Cf. the case of Ananta and Kalasa in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (cit.). Rapson : Catalogue of the Āndhras and the Kṣatrapas p. cxxiv ff. The Satrap Jīvadāman reigned twice, and the two reigns are separated by a long interval during which his uncle Rudrasiṁha I appears twice as Ksatrapa and *Mahākṣatrapa*.

from robbers.[1] He is called Baura, though the correct reading, according to Hodiwala[2] should be Bozah (بوزه), Bozoh (بوزه) or Bodzah (بودزه), i.e., Bhoja. His empire was vast and extended one hundred and twenty square parsangas of Sindh, each parsanga being equal to eight miles, which might be an exaggeration, nevertheless it is proved that the empire included Cutch and Kathiawar. As an administrator, he was conscious of the limitations, and so he appointed feaudatories in different parts—Guṇāmbodhideva, Bāuka and Kakkuka, Harṣarāja, and Bāhukdhavala, who accompanied him in his campaigns and helped him in building a vast empire. He had inherited a crippled kingdom in an adverse situation, but his strong hand steered him clear of difficult situations in a record rule of over half a century. At his death he left a consolidated and organised empire for his son and successor Mahendrapāla. The Arab storm had lulled and the tide had turned, as we find a feudatory Cāhamāna Caṇḍamahāsena of the Dholpur inscription of V. 898 being obeyed by the Mleccha rulers on the Carmanavatī (Chambal). This reference is probably to the Arabs who were defeated, and hence made no further move during the time of this great ruler. It was in fact the strong centralised power and authority wielded by Bhoja and his successors which immuned India from foreign inroads for a couple of centuries.

Mahendrapāla. Bhojadeva was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla from his queen Candrabhaṭṭārikādevī. His name is mentioned with variants in different records, as for example, Mahendrāyudha (Una. Val 574), Mahendrapāladeva, surnamed Bhāka (Dighwa-Dubauli, Siyadoni, British Museum), Mahendrapāladevarāja (Guneriya), Mahendrapāla (Una, Paharpur, Bihar) and Mahendrapāla (Ramagaya). Rajaśekhara, the court poet, has addressed his patrons with the *Birudas—Nirbhayarāja* (*Nibbaassa* (Bāla I. 5) and sometimes with his full name (*Rahuula cūḍamaṇino Mahīndavāla*) (Kar. I. 5). The identity of Nirbhaya with Mahendrapāla is well-established.[3] The exact date of Bhoja's death and Mahendrapalā's accession to power is uncertain, but the last record of the time of Bhoja is the Peheva Praśasti of H. 278=884 A.D., and the earliest one of the time of Mahendrapāla is the Una record of Vallabhi 574=A.D. 893. We have to fix up the date between these two years. We would like to suggest that Bhoja probably died in A. D. 890 and was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla. There is, however, one point which unfortunately escaped the attention of all the scholars. It is the reference to the *Dūtaka* Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa in the Daulatpur record[4] of the Pratihāra Mahārāja Bhojadeva (I) surnamed Prabhāsa, and dated in the V. 900. This would suggest that Bhoja ascended the throne with a son young enough to be the heir-apparent, and when he died at a very advanced age this Yuvarāja either predeceased him or was himself sufficiently old enough, and could have hardly ruled for a year or two. At any rate, the absence of this Nāgabhaṭa of the Daulatpur record has to be accounted for. That was the reason which prompted us to fix Mahendrapalā's accession to power in *c.* 890 A.D. There are a number of inscriptions of his time scattered all over N. India from Bengal to Kathiawar, and from Pehoa (Karnal District) in the Punjab to Siyadoni (Sironkhurd-Jhansi), testifying to the vast extent of the

1. Elliot and Dowson p. 4.
2. Studies in Indo-Muslim history p. 25.
3. Aufrect : Z.D.M.G. XXVII pp. 1-120 ; and Pischel's view — quoted in Lanman and Kon— *Karpūramañjarī* p. 178).
4. Op. cit.


THE GURJARA - PRATIHĀRA EMPIRE
KASHMIR
SAHIS
R SINDHU
R VITASTA
R CHANDRABHAGA
TAKKA
R IRAVATI
MULTAN
R. SATADRU
ARABS OF MULTAN
PEHOA
AHAR
R YAMUNA
R GANGA
ARABS OF MANSORAH
OSIA
SEWA
DAULATPUR
GHATIYALA
BAYANA
JODHPUR
GURJARA PRATIHĀRAS
KANYAKUBJA
GWALIOR
BARA
ASNI
KARA
DIGHWA-DUBAULI
CHITRAKUTA
SIYADONI
KALINJIR
BIHAR
RAMGAYA
PAHARPUR
PARTABGARH
UJJAYINI
CHANDELLAS
MAGADHA
KAMARUPA
PALAS
VANGA
HADDALA
TĀMRALIPTI
KAVI
HANSOT
UNA
BAGUMRA
NAVASARI
UTKALA
RASTRAKUTAS
KALINGA
MANYAKHETA
EASTERN CALUKYAS
VENGI
68°
72°
76°
80°
84°
88°
92°
36
32
28
24
20

empire which he inherited as a legacy from his father, and which he maintained it intact, and possibly made some additions as well. This can be ascertained by perusing those records which form the basis of his history.

Sources. The earliest record of the time of this ruler is the Una (Kathiawar)[1] plate dated in the Valabhī Saṁvat 574 on the 6th of the bright half of Māgha, which records a grant of land by the Mahāsāmanta Balavarman, son of Avanivarman (I) of the Cālukya lineage, to a temple of the sun named Taruṇādityadeva. It bears the signatures of Dhūka and Balavarman. The position of Dhūka who affixed his signature along with Balavarman has to be assessed.

The next inscription in chronological order is the Dighwa-Dubauli (Saran District Bihar) plate[2] of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva, which was issued from Kanauj and dated in V. S. 955 on the 10th of the bright half of Māgha. This inscription records a gift by the devout worshipper of Bhagavatī Śrī Mahendrapāladeva of a village *Painyaka in the Valayika sub-division of the Śrāvastī maṇḍala to a* Sāmavedi Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭa Padmeśvara.

Another inscription from Una[3], dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 956 on the sixth day of the bright half of Māgha (incidentally the same *tithi* as noticed in the earlier Una record) of the time of the Pratihāra P. M. P. Mahendrapāladeva, and issued by his feudatory the Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman (II), is very important, as it traces the relation between this feudatory Cālukya family of Kathiawar and the Gurjara Pratihāra family of Kanauj. Most of the facts connected with the previous Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj and their Sāmantas have been noticed earlier. One point worth attention is that both Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II were Sāmantas or feudatories to Mahendrapāla. Very probably Balavarman, as suggested earlier, was a feudatory of Bhoja I, and the events connected with him happened in the time of the great Partihāra ruler of Kanauj. He continued to be the feudatory even in the time of Mahendrapāla. Avanivarman II-Yoga, who succeeded his father in the hereditary office of Sāmanta, vanquished Yakṣadāsa and put to flight Dharaṇivarāha. He made the grant of the village of Amvulaka in the Saurāṣṭra maṇdala to (a temple of) Taruṇāditya. The political events connected with this feudatory will be considered later on.

The consolidated Siyadoni[4] inscription, recording a number of donations from V. S. 960 to V. S. 1025, mostly by private persons in favour of various Brahmanical deities, includes a few records of the time of P. M. P. Mahendrapāladeva, the successor of Bhojadeva of Kanauj. One such record is dated in V. S. 960 and another in V. S. 964 recording the grants of the *Mahāpratihāra Mahāsāmantādhipati Uṇḍabhaṭa*. A third record, dated in V. S. 969, is of the time of the Mahārāja Dhurbhaṭa, Governor of Siyadoni. It does not bear the name of Mahendrapāla, but the Pratihāra hold over that region remained undisturbed, as is evident from another record, dated in the V. S. 974 of the time of the Pratihāra P. M. P. Mahīpāladeva, successor of the P. M. P. Mahendrapāladeva.

1. Op. cit.
2. I. A. Vol. XV p. 112.
3. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 4 ff.
4. E.I. Vol. I pp. 173 ff.

In the Ahar inscription[1] which, like the Siyadoni inscription, is a collective public copy of a series of ten separate documents recorded at different dates., Nos. III, VIII, and X can be assigned with certainty to the time of Mahendrapāladeva.

Other records of the time of this ruler found in Bihar and Bengal are dated in the regnal years 2-19. The earliest one, namely, the British Museum inscription[2] dated in the year 2 on the 9th day of the bright half of Mārgga in the reign of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirājā parameśvara śrī Mahendrapāladeva*, is of no historical importance.

The Votive inscription[3] on the Pedestal from Bihar-Sharif, Patna Dist., dated in the 4th year of Māhendrapāla records the pious gift, on the first day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśira (Āgrahāyana), executed for the religious merit of Gautamī, the mother of the monk Dharmamitra.

Another inscription[4], dated in the year 4, and implying that Magadha was included in the empire of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, records on the 10th day of the bright half of Caitra, the setting up of the image of Kumārabhadra, as a gift of the Saindhavas. This inscription, engraved on the pedestal of a stone image of the Buddha seated in the attitude of teaching and recovered from an old woman of Bihar-Sharif, is now preserved in the Nalanda Museum.

The inscription dated in the year 5 of Śrī Mahendrapāladeva from Paharpur[5] (Rajshahi Dist. Bengal) records the dedication of the pillar on which it is incised, to the lord Buddha by a Buddhist monk called Sthāvira Jayagarbha. This inscription is important as it suggests that the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire extended as far as northern Bengal.

Another inscription[6] from the British Museum of the time of Mahendrapāladeva is dated in the year 6 (according to Banerji 9) of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha (*Śrī Mahendra-pāladeva-rājye*).

The two most important ones are—the Rama Gaya inscription,[7] and the Gunariya[8] (both from the Gaya Dist. Bihar). The first one incised on bas-relief of the Daśāvatāra (ten incarnations of Viṣṇu) is a short one of two lines and records the gift to Sahadeva, the son of the Riṣi Saudi (Sauri).

The Gunariya inscription in five lines is recorded on the throne of the figure of the Buddha. It is dated in the year 9 (Cunningham read it 19) on the 5th of the waxing moon of Vaiśākha, in the reign of the illustrious Mahendrapāla who is given the epithet *Guṇacarita*.

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1. E. I. Vol. XIX pp. 52 ff.
2. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1641.
3. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1923-24 pp. 101-102.
4. Śāstri : Memoir, A. S. I. (No. 66) p. 105-106
5. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1925-26, p. 141.
6. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1644.
7. Memories A. S. B. Vol. V p. 64.
8. ibid.

An undated votive inscription[1] of the reign of Mahendrapāladeva records the construction of a caitya in the reign of this Pratihāra King of Kanauj (*Śrī Mahi* (*e*)[2] *ndrapāladevara*(*ā*)*jyeḥ* (*jye*). The name of the person who set up the stūpa and the place of his origin cannot be ascertained. The father's name is clear and reads Panthaka who was a Kāyastha.

An inscription[3], noticed by Kittoe, and now missing, is dated in the 19th year of the reign of Śri Mahendrapāladeva.

The last record of the time of this Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler is the undated Peheva Praśasti (now in the Lucknow Museum) recording the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu by some members of the Tomara family descending from Rājā Jaula.

Relations with the Pālas. It appears from a perusal of the records dated in the regnal years 2-19 that the Gurjara-Pratihāra hold over Magadha, including some portion of north-east Bengal, continued undisturbed for a period of nearly twenty years. As these are dated in the regnal years and not in the Vikrama Saṁvat or the Harṣa era in which those of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahendrapāla are recorded, it was for a long time thought that this Mahendrapāla was a Pāla ruler.[4] It is now generally accepted that he should be identified with the Gurjara-Pratihāra King of the same name who was the son of Emperor Bhoja. We endorse this suggestion on the following grounds: Firstly, King Mahendrapāla of the British Museum inscription of the year 2, is styled *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*, titles commonly associtied with the Gurjara-Pratihāra[5] rulers of Kanauj, and unknown in the case of the Pāla rulers of Bengal. Secondly, the paleography of the records needs special consideration. Thus, the Rama-Gaya inscription with its acute angled characters of the 9th century A.D. shows close similarly with the Asni record of Mahīpāla.[6] The resemblance can be traced in the forms of the letters *pa* and *ta* used in these two records. The identity of names and titles used in these inscriptions found in Magadha and Bengal suggest that the records should be associated with the Kanauj King Mahendrapāladeva. Thus, Magadha and certain parts of Bengal were included in the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire. The real conquest, however, took place in the time of Bhoja, and Mahendrapāla only preserved intact the empire left by his father. That accounts for his rule over Magadha in the second year of his reign, which lasted for nearly twenty years.

1. Śāstrī : Memoirs A. S. I. (No. 66) p. 106.
2. Banerji : Memoirs A. S. B. Vol. V p. 64.
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 244 ff.
4. Kielhorn suggests that he was one of the Pālas, and mentions him in a footnote in his List of the Pāla Kings of Bengal E.I. Vol. VIII, Appendix p. 18 note 2). Smith considers him to be the successor of Govindapāla whose inscriptions are dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 1232 and 1235 i.e, 1175 and 1178 A.D. (I.A. Vol. XXXVIII p. 246). H.P. Śāstrī also associated him with the Pāla dynasty (Memoirs. A. S. B. Vol. III p. 16).
5. The titles *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* are attributed to the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers from Nāgabhaṭa II onwards; Nagabhaṭa (Buchkala); Rāmabhadra (Ahar); Bhojadeva (Deogarh, Ahar, Una) Mahendrapāladeva (Una and Asni), and Mahīpāladeva (Asni). There are some inscriptions which do not attribute all the titles, as for example, Bhoja is simply called Mahārāja (Barah, Daulatpur), and Rāmabhadra, called Rāmadeva in the Gwalior inscription of V. S. 932, is not attributed any title. The absence of the titles in any record does not imply loss of status, but where the titles are not associated with any particular family, it would be wrong to place the ruler bearing those titles in such a family.
6. Ref. Banerji : Memoirs A.S.B. Vol. V p. 63.

It is suggested by Dr. Majumdar[1] that armed with the resources of his vast empire, Bhoja's son and successor Mahendrapāla followed up the victory over the Pālas with relentless severity. Six of his inscriptions, found in the Patna and Gaya districts clearly suggest that Magadha was annexed to the Pratihāra empire. The inscription of the year 5 from Paharpur proves that even northern Bengal had passed, for a time, into the hands of the Pratihāras. He has analysed the causes of this phenomenal success of the Pratihāras and the complete collapse of the Pālas during the latter half of the ninth century A.D. as due to the personality of Bhoja, and his success in organising a powerful confederacy, and the personal capacity and want of foresight and diplomacy on the part of the weak Pāla rulers, as well as due to the rise of the two former dependent kingdoms of Assam and Orissa. The Pratihāra hold over Magadha did not last long, as we find an inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla[2], dated in the year 54 of his reign, so that it may be presumed that the Pāla King recovered northern Bengal and Bihar about A.D. 908.

Relations with the Cālukyas. We learn from the Una records[3] that the Pratihāra hold over Kathiawar continued in the time of Mahendrapāla. The two grants, dated in the time of Mahendrapāla in the year Valabhī 574 = A.D. 893, and in the Vikrama Saṁvat 954 = A.D. 897 record the grants of the village of Jayapura and Amvulaka in the Nakṣīpura group of 84 in the Saurāṣtra maṇḍala to the temple of the Sun (Taruṇādityadeva) by the Cālukya Balavarman and his son Avanivaraman II—Yoga respectively. Both of them are described as feudatories of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* Mahendrāyudha, from whom they had obtained the five *mahāśabdas*. We have suggested that Balavarman was the feudatory of Bhoja and the events connected with him happened in the time of this great emperor. Avanivarman Yoga is described in the record of V. S. 956, as vanquishing Yakaṣadāsa and putting to flight Dharaṇīvarāha. It is difficult to say about Yakaṣadāsa, but Dharaṇīvarāha is identified by D. R. Bhandarkar[4] with the Cāpa mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvaraha of the Haḍḍala (Kathiawar) Plates—a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva. If we accept this suggestion we would have to presume that this Dharaṇīvarāha was at first an enemy of the Cālukyas, the feudatories of the Kanauj family, and later on he was appointed a feudatory of Mahīpaladeva, son of Mahendrapāladeva. It might have been an attempt on the part of Dharaṇīvarāha to deprive Avanivarman II of his vassalage in which he was unsuccessful, but later on he was appointed a feudatory by Mahīpāla, either replacing Avanivarman II,

1. History of Bengal Vol. I p. 129.
2. A small brass image with a votive inscription on its back was discovered in Bihar town (I.A. Vol. XLVII p. 109). The image is that of a goddess with four hands seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* posture. The inscription is incised on the back of the throne of the image. The continued occupation of Eastern Magadha by the Pālas during their struggle with the Gurjara-Pratihāras can be proved from a number of records namely, the Visṇupada inscription of the 9th year of Nārāyaṇapāla, the Bihar inscription of the 9th year of Nārāyanapāla, the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyanapāla of the year 17, which proves that Mudgagiri or Mungir was in the possession of Nārāyanapāla up to the 17th year of his reign, and the Bihar image inscription of the year 50. Though the find spot of this image is uncertain, the mention of Udaṇḍapura in the record proves that the city was included in the dominions of Nārāyanapāla in that year. There is a blank between the years 17 and 54 and in these thirty-seven years, the Gurjaras might have temporarily occupied eastern Magadha. Such occupation could not have been of a permanent nature, as is evident from the record of the time of Nārāyanapāla dated in the year 54.
3. Op. cit.
4. List. Appendix p. 9 No. 2.

as we do not hear anything further about his family, or independently. Haḍḍala, as the Plate suggests,[1] was in the possession of Dharaṇīvarāha's ancestors for a long time, and the very name of the country Aḍḍana (identified with portions of the present Limbidi and Wadhawan) was called after Aḍḍaka, the grandfather of Dharaṇīvarāha. So it may be suggested that Dharaṇīvarāha and his ancestors were in possession of this portion, now represented by Wadhwan and Limbdi. It is probable that both the Una and Wadhawan families were feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj, as the distance between Wadhwan and Una is a little over 125 miles, and they were not likely to overlap each other's jurisdiction.

The position of Dhiika, the *tantrapāla*, has also to be explained. He was an important officer in the Pratihāra administrative machinery. This office is also mentioned in the Partabgarh (Rajputana) inscription.[2] As mentioned in this record, the administration of the Province was carried on by the *Mahāsāmanta-daṇḍanāyaka* Mādhava, who was the *tantrapāla*, or *charge d'affaires* at Ujjain, and Śrī Sarman was appointed for Maṇḍapika (Mandu) by the *balādhikṛita* Kokkata subsisting at the feet of Parameśvara i.e. Mahendrapāla II. We should like to suggest that he was a military attaché, appointed by the person in charge of Defence at the centre, and his task was to work in liaison between the centre and the feudatories. So this Dhiika was the representative of the King at Una. The Cālukya family of Avanivarman had a faithful record of allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and it continued to maintain cordial relations even in those difficult days of Rāmabhadra. The relations continued to be happy in the time of Mahendrapāla who enjoyed complete sway over Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

Relations with Kashmir. Scholars have quoted[3] the famous verse 151 of the fifth book of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, with a view to suggesting some clash between the Gurjara Pratihāras and the King of Kashmir who was successful in wresting West Punjab. The verse informs us that Śaṅkaravarman caused the sovereign power, which the superior King Bhoja had seized, to be given up to the scion of the Ṭakkiya family who had become his servant in the office of the Chamberlain. The identity of the superior King Bhoja of this Verse with Emeprор Bhoja of the Kanauj family is accepted, but the restoration of that sovereign power[4] to the Ṭakkiya family by the Kashmir King, in the time of Bhoja is questioned. It is suggested that, as the Kashmir king ascended the throne in *c.* A.D. 893 and he had to face civil war at home which should naturally have taken some time, the conquest of Ṭakkiya land could not have been undertaken in the time of Bhoja but later in the time of Mahendrapāla.

We have already suggested that Alakhāna was a feudatory of Bhoja who had to part with the Ṭakka land with a view to preserving his own (Gurjara land). There was no appreciable loss of territory of the Gurjara Pratihāra empire of which East Punjab continued to be a part in the time of Bhoja (Pehoa record of H. 276=A.D. 882) and also his successor Mahendrapāla (undated Pehoa *Praśasti*).[5] As Bhoja probably

1. Bühler, I. A. Vol. XII p. 191.
2. E. I. Vol. XXV pp. 184 ff.
3. Ref. Majumdar: Gurjara-Pratihāras. J.D.L. Vol. IX p. 55; Tripathi: History of Kanauj.
4. Bühler: E.I. Vol. I p. 186; Fleet: I.A. Vol. XV p. 110 n. 31.
5. E. I. Vol. I pp. 244 ff.

ruled till the year 890 A.D., or was succeeded by his son Nāgabhaṭa, the Yuvarāja of the Daulatpur record sometime in *c.* 886 who might have ruled for a very short time; it is likely that this conquest by Śaṅkaravarman was undertaken in the last days of Bhoja or in the time of Nāgabhaṭa. The old emperor was not strong enough to assist his feudatory, and Nāgabhaṭa, if at all he was the ruler, was very weak and hence adopted a policy of *laissez faire*. Alakhāna had no alternative but to depend on his own resources and so he easily gave way. This event is not likely to have happened in the time of Mahendrapāla, else he would have come to his rescue.

Mahendrapāla and Central Indian Powers. We learn from the Siyadoni (Sironkhurd, Jhansi Dist.) inscription[1] dated in the year V. S. 964 of the time of the P. M. P. Mahendrapāladeva, that Uṇḍabhaṭa was the *Mahāpratihāra samadhigatāśeṣa-mahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati* and he was the donor of this record. Earlier, we find in a record dated Saturday, the 4th tithi of the dark half of Bhādrapada V. S. 960= Saturday 16th July A.D. 903 from Terahi[2] (Gwalior State), of the time of the *Mahāsāmantādhipatis* Guṇarāja and Uṇḍabhaṭa that on the aforesaid date, there took place on the Madhubanī (the Mohawar) a fight between the two *Mahāsāmantādhipatis* in which Cāṇḍiyana, the *Koṭṭapāla* or 'guardian of the fort' and a follower of Gunarāja was killed. It appears that there were two *Mahāsāmantas* or feudatories Guṇarāja and Uṇḍabhaṭa, and the *Koṭṭapāla* Cāndiyaṇa, who was acting as a liaison officer appointed by the centre, was interested in their conflict. The inscription mentions that he subsisted on the feet of Gunarāja (*Śri Guṇarāja pādapadam-opajīvaḥ koṭṭapāla Śri Cāṇḍiyaṇa*). Bhandarkar translates the expression as 'the follower of Guṇarāja.'[3] The term *Koṭṭapāla* also occurs in the Gwalior inscription[4] of V. S. 933 which mentions Alla as the guardian of the fort who formed along with the *balādhikṛita*, *śreṣṭhins* and the head *sārthavāha*, the board (*vāra*) of administration of the town (*sthānākṛita*). It may be suggested that Cāṇḍiyana held the same position, as enjoyed by the *tantrapāla* Dhiika of the Una record. In the Vikrama saṁvat 933, Gwalior was included in the empire of Bhoja. Within 35 years, certain mahāsāmantas were appointed by the Gurjara-Pratihara emperor of Kanauj. In order to maintain relations, and at the same time to watch the interest of the emperor, a liaison officer, called *koṭṭapāla* in this record and *tantrapāla* in the Una record was appointed and he was connected with defence. It was possible for him to interfere in the mutual quarrels of the feudatories, as we notice both in the case of Cāṇḍiyaṇa and Dhiika. It is rather strange that Mahendrapāla could afford to retain feudatories on the border areas.

Mahendrāpāla and Rājaśekhara. Mahendrapāla, was not only a good administrator but also a patron of literature. We notice that Rājaśekhara, the great poet and dramatist was his *Guru* or spiritual teacher. The colophon of the *Karpūramañjarī* runs: *iti Śrīmān Mahārāṣtra cūḍāmaṇinā Mahendrapāla=opādhyāyena Rājaśekharena Bāla-kavinā Kavi-Rājena-viracite caturthaṁ javanikāntaram samāptam.* Tne gradation is significant, as it suggests that Rājaśekhara was successively appointed to the offices of junior poet, chief poet, and preceptor. The poet calls himself the son of a *Mahāmantri* or high minister, the *Guru* or *Upādhyāya*, the spiritual preceptor or teacher of Nirbhayarāja,

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 169.
2. I. A. Vol. XVII p. 202 f.
3. List of inscriptions. No. 43.
4. Op. cit,

and the Guru of Mahendrapāla, the crest jewel of the family of Raghu. Rajāśekhara himself traces his poetic descent from Vālamīki through one Bhartrımentha, and the well known Bhavabhūti. We shall not assess the value of his literary works and dramas, as it is outside the scope of this work. We only suggest that literary activities were not stagnant in that period, as we find Rājaśekhara enjoying the patronage of Mahendrapāla alias Nirbhayanarendra, and his son Mahīpāla at whose court, or by whose command, the *Bālabhārata* was staged. The prologue of the *Bālabhārata* or *Pracandapāndava* contains an eulogy of Mahīpāla—called the pearl jewel of the lineage of Raghu, the Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta, and the son of the glorious Nirbhayanarendra.

Rājaśekhara did not leave an account of his patrons which would have considerably helped in unfolding the history of Northern India in that period, but there is enough material in his works to throw light on the cultural condition of Northern India in all aspects—social, economic, religious, educational, and his *Kāvyamīmāmsā* presents exhaustive geographical data.

With Mahendrapāla ends the second phase of the Gurjara-Pratihāra history. The empire, built by Bhoja through toil and suffering, and by waging wars in different directions, was well preserved even after the death of this great ruler. Mahendrapāla equally shares the credit for retaining intact the empire inherited by him. His period, in fact, represents ths acme of Gurjara-Pratihāra glory. The adversaries were crippled, or were engulfed in their own domestic troubles, but they had not given up hopes. The Arabs were, more or less, localised, and their expansionist policy was at its lowest ebb. The strong power of Bhojadeva, equally shared by Mahendrapāla, enabled the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire to expand considerably. It was not long before the process of disintegration started, and this vast empire gradually started cracking for various reasons—weak successors, disputed succession in certain cases, want of foresight and lack of diplomacy, and, above all, the steady growth of the adversaries. The third phase of the Gurjara Pratihāra history, thus, begins with the gradual beginning of the decline of this power in Northern Indian history.

CHAPTER V

THE LATER PRATIHĀRAS

The Gurjara-Pratihāra history after Mahendrapāla is a record of disputed succession, a number of kings, some assuming different names, internal troubles, and the beginning of the decline. The first half of the tenth century is characterised by attempts to preserve the empire intact, though the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion from the south had partially eclipsed the Gurjara glory. In fact, Mahīpāla had to seek shelter elsewhere till his supporter—the Candella king Harṣadeva—helped him in getting back his throne. The latter part of his career was more eventful. He stabilised his position and possibly avenged the defeat earlier suffered at the hands of Indra III. The last half of this century really represents the decline of the Gurjara Pratihāras, and the vast empire built by Bhoja and his son Mahendrapāla was considerably reduced in size. The period following this is noted for the successive Musalman invasions resulting in the collapse of the Gurjara Pratihāra power and the subsequent emergence of the Gāhadavālas at Kanauj. The history of this period covering a little over a century is very complicated, and occasionally confused. The records sometimes suggest overlapping of dates providing room for surmises. The reconstruction of history of this period has to be done with caution with a view to fixing the floating islands of chronology.

Sources. The sources for the history of the first half of the tenth century—covering the reigns of Bhoja II, Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla, Vināyakapāla, Mahendrapāla II, Devapāla, Mahīpāla II and Vijayapāla—are primarily the records of the times of these rulers and some contemporary Cedi and Candella inscriptions which we propose considering here in strictly chronological order. The works of Rājaśekhara and the Arab accounts particularly of Al-Masūdī and Utbī, have also to be noticed.

The earliest record of this period is the Haḍḍaḷa[1] (Kathiawar) grant of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharanīvarāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva issued from Vardhamāna. The inscription, written on two elliptical plates beginning with an invocation to Dhanadheśvara (Śiva), gives the legendary origin of the Cāpa from the bow (Cāpa) of Śambhu. In that family was born Nripa Vikramāṅka—his son Rājā Addaka followed by Pulakeśi and Dhruvabhaṭa and the latter's younger brother king Dharanivāraha residing at Vardhamāna (modern Wadhvan in East Kathiawar) who was a feudatory of Rājādhirāja Paramaeśvara Śri Mahīpāladeva, as is evident from the expression—*Samadhigatāśesa-mahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati.* The country ruled by him was named after his grandfather (Addanadeśa). This feudatory prince granted to Maheśvarācārya on the day of the winter solstice the village named Vimkala connected with the K nthikasthali—on the fourth of the bright half of Pauṣa Śaka Saṁvat 836=23rd December A.D. 914.

1. I. A. Vol. XII pp. 193 f.

The next record is from Asni[1]—a village about 10 miles to the north of Fatehpur (U.P., and is dated on the seventh of the dark half of Māgha in the Vikrama Saṁvat 974=A.D. 917 of P. M. P. Mahīpāladeva, meditating on the feet of P. M. P. Mahīṣa (ndra?) pāladeva=Mahendrapāladeva. The inscription was set up in a certain Caitya of the god Yogasvāmin, and records arrangements made for the worship of the god by Brāhmaṇas and ascetics of the locality.

The Bengal Asiatic Society plate[2]—its find spot being unknown—is dated on the ninth tithi of the dark half of Phālguna, Vikrama Saṁvat 988=931 A.D. Its political importance is great as it refers to more than one successor of Mahendrapāla from his two queens—the Dehanāgādevī and Mahīdevī. Bhoja is mentioned as the son of the former, and Vināyakāpala of the latter. It is also clear from this record that Bhojā preceded Vināyakāpaladeva, and the latter meditated on the feet of his father as well as of his brother (*tayoḥ pādānudhyātaḥ*). The inscription was issued from the Skandhāvāra at Mahodaya, and records the gift of the village of Tikkarikagrāma in the Pratisthāna *bhukti*, attached to the Kāśīparapāthaka which belonged to the Vārāṇasi *viṣaya*, and was given by Vināyakapāladeva in order to increase the religious merit of his parents.

The Rakhetra stone inscription[3] found on the right bank of the river not far from the old site of Canderi in Gwalior, and dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 999 and 1000 records the construction of some kind of water works at a cost of 95 or 96 crores of (coins) by Vināyakapaladeva

The Siyadoni[4] and the Rajor[5] inscriptions mention a king named Kṣitipāla with the usual titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* who was the father of P. M. P. Devapāladeva (Siyadoni), and P. M. P. Vijayapāladeva (Rajor). The earlier record forming part of a series of collective documents, mentions the monthly assignment of one-third of a *dramma* to the temple of Sri Bhailasvāmideva set up by the merchant Vikrama, by the mahājanas in the Dosihaṭṭa, on the fifth day of the bright half of Māgha Saṁvat 1005 of the Vikrama era.

The Rajorgadh (Alwar State), now Ajmer Museum inscription, of the Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the illustrious Mathanadeva of the Gurjara-Pratihāra line, son of Mahārāja Sāvata and Lacchukā, records the grant of the village of Vyāghrapataka on the occasion of the installation of the image or the consecration of the temple of the god Lacchukeśvara (Śiva) named after his mother Lacchukā. The record is dated on the 13th of the bright half of Māgha in the year 1016 of the Vikrama era. The inscription refers itself in lines 1-3 to the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the illustrious Vijayapāladeva.

In between these dates we notice two more inscriptions—the Partabgarh (Rajputana), now Ajmer Museum inscription recording the grant of the (Pratihāra)

1. I. A. Vol. XVI pp. 174 f.
2. I. A. Vol. XV p. 140.
3. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1924-25 p. 165.
4. E. I. Vol. I pp. 173 ff.
5. E. I. Vol. III p. 266.
6. E. I. Vol. XIV pp. 187 ff.

Mahārāja Mahendrapāla (II), dated in the V. S. 1003 and issued from Kanauj; and the Bayana (Bharatpur) inscription[1] of the time of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Mahīpāla dated in the V. S. 1012. The former records various donations to Vaṭayakṣinī, Indrāditya and Trailokyamohanadeva. The king mentioned in this record, namely, Devapāla mediated on the feet of the Mahārāja Śrī Vināyakapāla, son of Mahārāja Śrī Mahendrapāla from his queen Mahādevīdevī (Cf. Mahādevīdevī of the Bengal Asiatic Society grant of V. S. 988.)

The other inscription records the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a queen named Citralekhā during the reign of emperor Mahīpāla (Mahārājādhirāja) who seems to be a Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. This inscription mentions the Saurasena dynasty from king Phakka—followed by Rājayika who married Sajjanī of the Mayūrika class and had a daughter named Citralekhā who married Maṅgalarāja. Her eldest son, whose name is not preserved, married Yaśaskarī of the Paramāra clan. The two other sons were Indrajita Lakṣamaṇarāja, and Cāmundarāja—the lord of the land behind Bhīmā (same as Vidarbha-*Devipurāṇa*. Chap. 46).

The Candella records include the Khajurāho fragmentary inscription,[2]—found near the temple of Vāmana at Khajurāho—which mentions the illustrious Harṣadeva who by his own arms conquered many enemies. We learn from line 10 that Harṣa himself or his successor, placed the illustrious prince Kṣitipāladeva again on the throne (*Punaryena Śrī Kṣitipāladeva-nripati siṁhāsane sthāpitāh*). The other Khajuraho inscription No. 2 mentions that Yaśovarman of the Candella family had received an image of Vaikuṇṭha, which he set up in the temple founded by him, from Devapāla, the son of Herambapāla who is also called *Hayapati* (*tat-sūnor=Devapāla=tam=atha Hayapateḥ-prapya*) (V. 43). Herambapāla in turn had obtained it from Ṣāhi, the king of Kīra who had received it from the lord of Bhoṭa, who, again, had got it from the Kailāśa. Earlier, this prince in verse 23 is represented in a general way as having carried on successful wars against the Gaudas, Khaśas, Kosalas, Kaśmīras, Mithilas, Mālavas, Cedis, Kurus and Gurjaras, and he is, in particular, stated to have defeated the king of the Cedi (V. 28), and conquered the Kālañjara mountain. The inscription appears to have been set up after the death of Yaśovarman, as his son Dhaṅga is introduced in V. 44, and in V. 45 he is represented as ruling the earth. The record is dated in the year 1011, which may be in the Vikram era corresponding to A.D. 953-54.

The Cedi records include the undated Bilhari (Jubbulpore district) inscription[3] which records the erection of a temple of Śiva by queen Nohalā, the wife of the Cedi ruler Keyuravarṣa, along with the endowment of certain villages. The inscription also furnishes genealogy of the Cedi rulers from Kokkalladeva—followed by his son Mugdhatuṅga-Keyūravarṣa-Yuvarājadeva-Lakṣmanarāja-Sáṅkaragaṇa, and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva. Kokkalldeva is described as a descendeant of Arjuna (Kartavīrya. (V. 8) of the tribe of the Haihayas (V. 7) who belonged to the lunar race. It is recorded of Kokkalladeva that he set up two unprecedented columns of his fame—meaning, thereby, his alliance with Krisṇarāja in the south and Bhojadeva in the north (V. 17).

1. P.R.A.S. W. C. 1918-19 pp. 43 ff, and ibid 1919-20 p. 57.
2. E. I. Vol. I pp. 121 ff.
3. E. I. Vol. I pp. 252 ff.

Another Cedi record—the Benaras copper plate[1] of Kamadeva, dated on the ninth of the dark half of Phālguna in the Cedi year 793=18th January, 1042, mentions in Verse 7 that Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the illustrious Harṣarāja described as the sovereign of Citrakūṭa, and to the king Śaṅkaragaṇa. This inscription, thus, establishes the contemporaneity of Kokkalladeva with the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler Bhoja of Kanauj, as well as with the Candella ruler Harṣa, and both seem to have interfered in the domestic affairs of the Kanauj family.

The testimony of Rājaśekhara is important for two reasons—firstly, the poet had served both Mahendrapāla and his son Mahīpāla, and it is clear from his account that the latter succeeded immediately after the death of his father. Secondly, in the *Bāla-bhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, Rājaśekhara mentions the conquest of Mahīpāla extending over Murala, Mekala, Kaliṅga, Kerala, Kulūta, Kuntala and Ramaṭha.[2] We shall take this verse into consideration when we discuss the conquest of Mahīpāla which very probably followed his reinstatement by his friends. Lastly, the account left by the Arab historian Al Masūdi[3] is important and his *Muruju-l-zahab* "the Meadows of gold" throws interesting light on the state of nations as they were in his age, that is to say, in 330 (332) A. H. =933 A.D. He has mentioned the king of Kanauj called Baura who had large armies in garrisons in the north and in the south. This title was common to all the kings of Kanauj. The enmity between the king of Kanauj and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Balhara is also alluded to by Al-Masūdī.

BHOJA II. The Bengal Asiatic Society Plate inscription[4] mentions two sons of Mahendrapāla from his two wives—Dehanāgādevī and Mahīdevīdevī. Bhoja was the son of the former and Vināyakapāla of the latter. It is also mentioned in this record that Vināyakapāla first meditated on the feet of his father Mahendrapāla and later on that of his elder step-brother Bhoja (*tayoḥ=pādānudhyātaḥ*). This should suggest that Bhoja immediately succeeded his father Mahendrapāla. Very likely he died issueless, and was succeeded by his younger brother Vināyakapāla. The question of any conflict between the two brothers is ruled out because Vināyakapāla not only mentions the name of his step-brother, but actually meditated on his feet, probably as heir apparent, before his succession to power. We notice another ruler between Mahendrapāla and his son Vināyakapāla who is mentioned by Rājaśekhara as ruling in Āryāvarta (*Raghu-vaṁśa-muktāmaṇinā-Āryāvarta-Mahārājādhirājena-Sri-Nirbhaya-narendra-nanden=ādhikritaḥ sathesadah*)[5] and also referred to in the Haḍḍala and Asni inscription dated in the Saka 836=A.D. 914 and V. 974=917-18 respectively. It is, thus, clear that Vināyakapāla was preceded by Mahīpāla. The court poet Rājaśekhara, who enjoyed the patronage of both Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla, mentions only the latter one and so the question arises : when did Bhoja II rule, and for how long ?

According to the Siyadoni inscription,[6] Mahendrapāla ruled till the year V. 964= A.D. 907-8 and we have suggested his death in the year A.D. 910. It is, therefore

1. E. I. Vol. II pp. 305 ff.
2. V. 7.
3. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I p. 22.
4. I. A. Vol. XV p. 140.
5. *Pracaṇḍa-Pāṇḍava* (Cappaller edtion p. 2).
6. E. I. Vol. I p. 173.

probable that Bhoja ruled between the years 910-914 A.D., but how do we account for his name being ignored by Rājaśekhara? Similarly, if it is suggested that Mahīpāla succeeded Mahendrapāla in the year A.D. 910, how could we explain the absence of his name in the Bengal grant? Scholars have adduced several theories which are worth examining. It is suggested by Kielhorn[1] that Mahīpāla be considered as synonymous with Kṣitipāla, and also with Herambapāla,[2] while D. R. Bhandarkar[3] proposes all the four names representing one ruler, that is Mahīpāla. If this is accepted then Bhoja ruled for a very short time, and he was succeeded by Mahīpāla (Asni, Haḍḍala) alias Ksitipāla (Siyadoni) alias Vināyakapāla (Bengal Asiatic Society grant) alias Herambapāla (Khajurao No. 2) who enjoyed a long reign of over 25 years which was most eventful.

These views are refuted by G. H. Ojha who accepts the identification of *Mahī* with *Kṣiti* but distinguishes Vinayāka from Heramba on the following grounds: the title *Haibayapati* associated with Devapāla was not the usual title of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, secondly, it is mentioned casually in the record of another king, and lastly, the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap. Accordingly, he suggests that there were three different rulers who succeeded in turn—Bhoja II, Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla and Vināyakapāla.

The existence of Bhoja as a separate ruler, who preceded the other brother or brothers, is accepted by all the scholars, but it has been questioned by Prof. Niharanjan Ray[4] and Dr. Raychaudhari,[5] who propose that Bhoja was only the title assumed by Mahīpāla, and the absence of the latter's name in the Bengal Asiatic Society Grant and that of Bhoja in the Asni inscription is a pointer in that direction. While epigraphic records clearly distinguish Vināyakapāla from Bhoja, there is no such evidence with regard to Mahīpāla. Dr. Raychaudhari also accepts the reading of Baura—the title common to all the kings of Kanauj—as suggested by Prof. Hodivala,[6] and interpreted as Bozah, Bozoh, or Bodzah. The Re'td Carmichael Professor also refers to a passage from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*[7] of Kṣemīśvara which was earlier noticed by Prof. Mirashi[8]. He argues that, just as the divine Kārttikeya was the brother of the divine Vināyaka, the king Kārttikeya, that is, Mahīpāla, was the brother of, and not identical with king Vināyakapāla. It is proposed that Mahīpāla, alias Bhoja was the immediate successor of Mahendrapāla, and he was followed by his step-brother Vināyakapāladeva.

The omission of Bhoja II's name in the Asni grant is explained by another scholar[9] as due to the extreme shortness of his reign, or probably on account of a war of succession. In the case of the second alternative the victorious claimant did not think it prudent to recall the existence of one whom he had overthrown. With the lapse of time,

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 171.
2. ibid., p. 124.
3. J.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI pp. 426-7.
4. I. A. 1928 Vol. pp. 230 ff.
5. I. C. Vol. VII pp. 199 ff.
6. Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 25.
7. pp. 4, 73 (Jivānanda Vaidyāsāgar, Ed.).
8. K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume. pp. 360 ff.
9. Tripathi: History of Kanauj. p. 253.

he felt no scruples in mentioning the name of his rival in the genealogical list. These alternate theories—the shortness of Bhoja II's reign and a war of succession, according to Dr. Raychaudhari, lack proof. If Bhoja's name is omitted in the Asni record, why was it mentioned so prominently in the Asiatic Society Plate? As regards the war of succession, Dr. Raychaudhari suggests its improbability in view of the regard which Vinayakapāla had for his elder step-brother.

We now propose discussing the identity of Mahīpāla with Bhoja II, as suggested by these two Bengali historians. Bhoja's name not only appears in the Bengal Asiatic Society Plate inscription, but he figures prominently in two other records of his contemporary ally Kokkalladeva I of the Cedi family. The Bilhari stone inscription[1] mentions Kokkalladeva setting up two unprecedented columns Krisṇāraja in the south and Bhojadeva in the north (*jitvā Kṛitsnāṁ yena Prithvīm=apūrvaṁ—kīrtti—stambha—dvandam=āropyate sma. Kaumbh=odbhavyān diśy=asau Krisṇarājah Kauver-yāñ=ca Śrī Nidhir=Bhojadevaḥ*, V. 17). According to the Benaras grant[2] of Karna, Kokkalladeva protected Bhoja, Vallabha, Śri Harṣa, the king of Citrakūṭa and king Śaṅkaragaṇa. (*Bhoje Va(lla)bharāje Śri Harṣa (se) Citrakūṭabhū(bhu)pāle Sa(Śa)ṅka-ragaṇe ca rā(jā)ñī yaśy=āsīd=abhayadaḥ pāṇiḥ*). The records do not mention any date for Kokkalladeva I[3]. If we adopt the process of computation, we find that Karṇadeva who was reigning in the year 793 of the Cedi era=A. D. 1042 was removed from Kokkalladeva by seven generations, and allowing the same period of 25 years per generation—we would fix 967 A.D. for Kokkalladeva I. It would mean that the contemporary of Kokkalladeva, whom he had set up in the North was Bhoja I. But there is one important fact, which has to be considered. While this process of computation might suggest the earlier limit of Kokkalladeva's reign, it does affect the contemporaneity of

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 256.
2. E.I. Vol. II p. 305 ff.
3. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Kokkalladeva probably ruled between 840 and 890 A.D. (History of Bengal Vol. I p. 128; cf. Ray; Dynastic History Vol. II p. 754; Ganguly, I.H.Q. Vol. XIII pp. 480 ff.; Khusalchand; I.H.Q. Vol. XVII pp. 117) He fixes Kokkalla's first reign between 840 and 885 A.D. These scholars identify Bhoja of the Bilhari and Benaras inscriptions, who was a protégé of the Cedi ruler, with Bhoja I of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty. R.D. Banerji identifies him with Bhoja II (Pālas of Bengal, p. 65) and suggests that one, who was a contemporary of Harṣa and Krisṇa II, could never be a contemporary of Bhoja I (Bangalair Itihāsa p. 202). The force of this argument is not appreciated by Dr. Majumdar who suggests on the authority of the Ratnapur inscription of Kokalladeva I (E.I. Vol I p. 34) that Kokkalla had 18 sons. He must, therefore, be treated with a long reign and there is, no inherent improbability in the assumption that he was the contemporary of Bhoja I, Candella king Harṣarāja and king Krisṇa II. It is likely that he was a contemporary of Bhoja II too, and the statement in the Bilhari inscription, that he set up an unprecedented column of fame in the north in the shape of Bhojadeva, might, after all, refer to Bhoja II, as suggested by Hoernle (J.R.A.S. 1904 p. 651). The Amoda plate of Haihaya king Prithvīdeva I of the Cedi Saṁvat 831 = A.D. 1080 mentions another important fact. It records that Kokkalladeva became the lord of the Cedi and other countries. He raided the treasuries of the Karnāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkana, and Śākambhari kings and also of those born in the Turuṣka and Raghu families. He had 18 sons of whom the eldest became the king of Tripuri. The others were made feudatory chiefs near about (E.I. Vol. XIX pp. 209 ff.). As we propose discussing the relations of the Cedis with the Gurjara Pratihāras in detail, here we agree with Hoernle and R.D. Bannerji that it was Bhoja II who was a protégé of Kokkalladeva, as suggested in the two Cedi records. It is another thing that he might have been a contemporary of Bhoja I as well, but the events connected with this Cedi ruler could hardly have any bearing on the history of the Imperial Pratihāra Bhoja I.

the Cedi ruler with the successors of Bhoja I. We would, therefore, suggest that this ruler, the father of 18 sons, ruled for a long time, and he was a contemporary of Bhoja I, as well as of his successors—Mahendrapāla and Bhoja II. This point would be made still clearer from certain other facts worth recording.

We find a reference to Harṣa who is called the sovereign of Citrakūṭa in the Benaras grant. This well known locality of Bundelkhand[1] was ruled by the Candellas. This Harṣa must be the Candella Harṣadeva, the successor of Rāhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. His date is uncertain, but the Khajuraho inscription of the Candella Dhaṅga, his grandson and of the time of Vināyakapāladeva, is dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 1011=A.D. 954. Assigning roughly 25 years per generation, Harṣa might be placed in c. A.D. 910. We further learn from the Khajurāho fragmentary inscription[2] of (Harṣadeva I), the same as Harṣa of the Benaras copper plate, that he installed Kṣitipāla on the throne. The reference to this Pratihāra ruler as a contemporary of Harṣadeva, who, in turn, was a contemporary of Kokkalladeva, is a very important point worth considering. We, however, reserve for consideration a little later the identity of Vallabharāja (Krisṇarāja, according to the Bilahari inscription) who was the ruler of the south, certainly a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, and Śaṅkaragana. Here we stress one specific point, namely, the relations of the Candellas with the Kanauj family. The contemporaneity of Kokkalladeva I, Bhoja, the Candella Harṣa or Harṣadeva, and Kṣitipāla is well-established by the two Cedi and the two Candella records. It should be made clear that the Cedi ruler Kokkallaedeva was interested in Bhoja, and the Candella ruler Harṣadeva in Kṣitipāla, and both interfered in the affairs at Kanauj. Drs. Ray and Raychaudhari have not cared to mention the reference to Bhoja in the Cedi records. The separate identity of these two Pratihāra rulers seems established, and now we propose discussing the circumstances in which these two outsiders interfered in the affairs at Kanauj. The probable war of succession seems to be hinted at from these records of contemporary rulers.

War of Succession. It appears that Mahendrapāla had a number of sons from more than two wives. The mothers of Bhoja and Vināyakapāla were Dehanāgādevī and Mahīdevīdevī respectively. Mahīpāla's mother is not mentioned in any record but he probably enjoyed the position of an heir-apparent in the time of his father Mahendrapāla, as is clear from the account given by Rājaśekhara. Shortly after Mahendrapāla's death, Kokkalladeva, the old Cedi ruler, who was probably a feudatory of Bhoja I but was not in agreement with his successor Mahendrapāla, found an opportunity to create dissension in the Kanauj house by pushing up the claims of Bhoja II. In this manoeuvre Kokkalladeva was successful, and he was probably joined by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Krisṇa II. Mahīpāla probably suffered reverse at the hands of the Cedi and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers. We learn from the Cambay plate inscription[3] of Govinda IV that Indra III, after crossing Yamunā, devastated the hostile city of Mahodaya which was also known as Kuśasthalī. This campaign in the north seems to have been undertaken in alliance with the Cedi ruler Kokkalladeva, who, at this time, was very old and needed somebody to help him in pushing up the claims of his protégé. It may be suggested that Indra III carried on this campaign in the time of his grandfather Krisṇa II whom

1. Cunningham, A.S.R. Vol. XX p. 10.
2. E. I. Vol. I pp. 121 ff.
3. E. I. Vol. VII pp. 261 ff.

he succeeded.[1] The reign of Indra III was a short one lasting for about three years from A.D. 915—918,[2] and during this period his engagements in the south could hardly give him time to think of the north. Further, Mahīpāla's position was very strong in A.D. 914, as we find the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha acknowledging his authority in Kathiawar, and Indra III could hardly measure swords with him at that time. Moreover, Rājaśekhara credits Mahīpāla with the conquest of Murala, Mekala, Kaliṅga. Kulūta, Kuntala and Ramaṭha. The evidentiary value of this verse from a drama of the court poet might be little, but it can hardly be denied that Mahīpāla did conquer and maintain an extensive empire, in view of the epigraphic evidence adduced by the Haḍḍala and Asni records. We propose the following suggestions : Mahendrapāla died about A.D. 910, and Mahīpāla ascended the throne as his heir-apparent, but Kokkalladeva, joined by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kriṣṇa II—represented by his grandson Indra III—marched against Kanauj, and after defeating Mahīpāla placed Bhoja II on the throne. Mahīpāla left Kanauj and probably sought shelter with the Candellas. Bhoja II ruled for a short time and, with the withdrawal of his allies, Mahīpāla made a bid for capturing, once again, the throne of Kanauj. At this time Kokkalladeva was probably no more, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas could not help. Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla was backed by the Candella king Harsadeva who was against the king of Kanauj, as mentioned in the Khajurāho inscription No. 1 (*Punar=yena Kṣitipāladeva—nripatiḥ siṁhāsane sthā(pitaḥ)*.[3] The word *punar* is very important and significant too. It suggests that Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla was restored to his original position. The Candella ruler was amply rewarded for his services. The absence of Bhoja's name in the works of Rājaśekhara is not surprising. The court poet knew the real claimant to the throne, and he could hardly associate himself with the usurper. Further, the play itself was staged before Mahīpāla, and it would have been bad taste to bring in Bhoja unnecessarily, reminding the king of old sad memories. This easily explains why Bhoja II is not mentioned by Rājaśekhara. He seems to have ruled for a very short time, say about two to three years, till Mahīpāla regained his throne with the aid of the Candella Harṣadeva some time before A.D. 914, the date of the Haḍḍala inscription.

Mahīpāla I. The accession of Mahīpāla to power after a short break brought stability to the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, and he tried his best to regain the lost prestige.

1. The Deoli grant of A.D. 940 tells us that Jagattuṅga died without obtaining sovereignty (J.B. B.R.A.S. Vol. XVII p. 250). The Kharepatan grant (E.I. Vol. III p. 292) issued in A.D. 1008 by the Śilāhāra chieftain Raṭṭarāja, a feudatory of the Western Calukya king Irivabedanga satyāśraya, gives the genealogy from Dantidurga to Kakka II. It takes the succession direct from Krisṇa II to Indra III (cf. the Bhadana grant issued in A.D. 997 of the Śilāhāra chieftain Aparājita which distinctly indicates that Jagattuṅga II did not reign (E.I. Vol. III p. 267).
2. The Nausārī grants specify the 24th of February A.D. 915 as the day of his coronation, and another record of his time gives a date for him in A.D. 916 to 917 (Ref. Hatti-Matur (Dharwar District) *inscription of Māhāsāmanta Lenḍeyarassa*, dated Śaka Saṁvat 838 (expired) I.A. Vol. XII p. 224). The earliest inscription of the time of his son and successor is the stone inscription found at Dandapur in the Dharwar district and dated in the Śaka Saṁvat 840 expired on an unspecified date in the month of Pauṣa at the winter solstice = 23rd December A.D. 918.

   The poet Pampa informs us that his patron "plucked from Gurjara king's arms the goddess of victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he had held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled, as if struck by thunderbolt, staying neither to east nor to west, nor to pick himself up while Narasiṁha pursuing bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganges and established his fame," (*Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*, introduction p. xii).
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 121 ff.

The Cedi ruler Kokkaladeva had probably died, and Indra III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, was himself engulfed in troubles in the south. There was, thus, no strong adversary to stand in his way. This ruler of Āryāvarta was left free to extend his empire in different directions—from Kaliṅga in the east to Kathiawar in the west, and from Kulūta (Kullu valley) in the north, to Kuntala (Western Ghats) in the south, as suggested by Rājaśekhara. In his triumphant march he was joined by his feudatories. We propose discussing the history of this Pratihāra ruler under the following heads: Conquests, his feudatories, relations with the Candellas, the Kalacuris, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas, the Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, Mahīpāla and other synonymous names, and lastly, an estimate of this ruler.

Conquests. The main source of information regarding the conquests of this king is the verse in the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*[1] which runs as:

"*Namita-Murala-mauliḥ pākalo Mekalānāṁ*
raṇa-kalita-Kaliṅgaḥ keli taṭ Keral-endoḥ
Ajani jita Kulūtaḥ Kuntalānāṁ kuṭhāraḥ
haṭha-hṛita-Ramaṭha-śrīḥ śrī Mahīpāladevaḥ"

"The glorious Mahīpāladeva who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the Muralas; who has caused the Mekkalas to suppurate, who has driven the Kaliṅgas before him in war; who has spoilt the past-time of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulūtas; who is the very axe to the Kuntalas; and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramaṭhas." Starting from the north we find the reference to the Kulūta[2], corresponding to modern Kulu in the Kangra District in the upper valley of the Bias river to the north-east of Kangra. The Ramaṭhas[3] are mentioned in the *Brihatasaṁhitā* along with the Pañcanadas in the western division, and the Kulindas in the northern division in the *Vāyupurāṇa*. These two tribes—the Kulūtas and the Ramaṭhas were definitely conquered, as we find in the expression (*ajani jita kulūtaḥ*), and fortunes of the Ramaṭhas were forcibly appropriated (*haṭha-hṛita-Ramaṭha*). There is nothing improbable in the suggestion, as we find the Gurjara—Pratihāra hold extending over East Punjab in the time of Mahendrapāla.[4] The West Punjab was, no doubt, lost to the Kashmir family, according to the

1. I. 7.
2. The Kūluta country was situated in Northern India or Uttarāpatha. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang placed the kingdom of Kia-lu-to at 700 li or 117 miles to the north-east of Jullundar, corresponding exactly with the present position of the Kulu in the Kangra District of the Bias. Its old capital was Nagarkot. It is mentioned in the *Brihatasaṁhitā* (XIV.22), and in a Camba grant (I.A. Vol. XVII p. 8). It is also mentioned by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (p.94). According to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Proceedings, Indian History Congress, Aligarh Session, p. 170), Kulūta was the name of a small country which, together with Orissa, formed a single kingdom in the 11th century A.D., as suggested in the Charala Plates of Vira Rājendradeva, dated in the Śaka year 991 (E.I. Vol. XXV p. 261).
3. Ramaṭha is mentioned by Rājaśekhara in the same list. It is proposed that this might represent the country near the Raumaka mountain (Cunningham, Ancient Geography, map vi), and these people may be identified with the Ramas of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, mentioned along with the Hūnas, Sālvas, Śākalas and others in Northern India, probably a foreign tribe living at Aornos. (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 304).
4. E. I. Vol. I. p. 242.

evidence furnished by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[1] There was, therefore, no alternative but to proceed north in the direction of hill states. The other kings mentioned in the famous verse from the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* are those of the south. It is quite possible that Rājaśekhara exaggerated, as is natural with court poets, the conquest of his patron, but there is not much difficulty in accepting his testimony on this point. If we examine the geographical position of the states mentioned in the famous verse, we notice that there are a good many states mentioned by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.[2] They are Murala,[3] Mekala,[4] Kerala,[5] Kuntala[6] and Kaliṅga.[7] The question now is: could Mahīpāla's conquest extend as far as Kaliṅga and other states of Southern India? The answer to this query would be forthcoming if we look at the political map of India at that time. We know it for certain that Kokkalladeva, the Cedi ruler, had eighteen sons of whom the eldest was crowned the king of Tripuri, while others were in charge of *maṇḍalas*.[8] We have earlier suggested that Mahīpāla could regain his throne by removing the protégé of the Cedi monarch only after his death. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were themselves engulfed in trouble, and the Pālas were not strong. It was, thus, smooth sailing for Mahīpāla. Even the Mohammadan historian Al Masūdī admits the greatness of this ruler of Kanauj whose empire included the highland of Sind, the source of the Mihiran.[9]

The conquest of the south seems to be alluded to in the *Caṇḍakauśikam* of Kṣemīśvara,

1. Vol. I, Book V. Verse 151.
2. Appendix I.
3. It is suggested that the Muralas may have inhabited the banks of Muralā which has been identified with the river Narmadā (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, Chap. I). But in the *Raghuvaṁśa* the river is placed after the Kerala country flowing near the Sahya mountain and the Aparāntadeśa. Rājaśekhara locates this country in Southern India and characterises the complexion of the ladies of this country as black (*atb=aiṣa=prācītaḥ (prācīnaḥ) sarati muraligaṇḍamālinaḥ*) (*Kāvyamīmāmsā* p. 97). Hall identifies Murala with Kerala (J.A. O.S. VI. p. 527), but the two are separately mentioned by Rājaśekhara. It is suggested that the land lying between Kerala and Aparānta near Sahya on the Muralā may be taken to be the present equivalent of the Murala country (*Kavyamīmāṁsā*, p. 303). It is identified with the country of Miraj through which the river Mūlamūṭhā or Muralā flows and joins as a tributary with the river Bhīmā.
4. The Mekalas probably lived in the region round about the Maikala range (Amarakanṭaka) in the Central Provinces. Narmadā is called Mekalakanyā. The Mekalas as a people are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* 6.346; 7.112; *Harivaṁśa* 782, 12838; *Raghuvaṁśa* IV. 41; and also in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* 5.39.73.
5. It comprises the Malabar coast or the Cera country including Malabar, Travancore (Ref. *Mahābhārata* I. 6685; *Harivaṁśa* 12838; *Raghuvaṁśa* IV. 50) terminating at Cape Camorin in the south and Goa in the north.
6. Rājeśekhara locates Kuntala in southern India, and the Śātavāhanas are mentioned as the rulers of the country. The tract of the land between the two rivers Godāvarī and Kriṣṇā is the country of the Kuntalas, and sometimes a portion of the Karṇāṭaka as also of Vidarbha are included in this country. (*Kāvyamīmāṁsa*, Appendix p. 286). According to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Kuntalas were, of course, people of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. Op. cit.).
7. Kaliṅga is very well known. It comprises northern Circars lying between Orissa in the north and Āndhra in the south and borders on the sea. Rājaśekhara has included it in the list of countries situated in southern and eastern India (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā* pp. 9, 93).
8. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 210.
9. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I. p. 21.

This argument, according to Prof. Nilakantha Śāstrī,[1] would perhaps be valid if it were established that *Caṇḍakauśikam* was a play produced in Bengal under the Pāla emperor Mahīpāla I. If, on the other hand, it is possible to point to another Mahīpāla in whose reign another war took place, and who may have been the patron of Kṣemīśvara, we should then find it more easy to assign the play to his time, than to follow Banerji in believing that a Bengali author of the eleventh century A.D. committed the error in distinguishing the nationality of the Tamils with the Karnāṭakas. According to Professor Śāstrī, the Gurjara ruler Mahīpāla satisfies all the conditions of the case.

There is another point stressed by Banerji. He refers to the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, which mention Indra III invading Mālava, capturing Ujjain, crossing the Jumna (near Kalpi), devastating Kanauj, and ultimately compelling Mahīpāla to flee before his general, the Cālukya Narasimha[2]. Mahīpāla, according to Banerji, returned to Kanauj, after the retirement of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces were fast becoming independent under the feudatories and the governors. He finally points out that no Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty ever defeated any Karṇāta army or chief, and therefore "it is cruel of Professor Aiyangar to attribute the production of the drama *Caṇḍakauśikam* before this unfortunate king".[3] As regards the devastation of Mahodaya, which Indra III is said to have brought about, Bhandarkar considers[4] it purely poetical with a play on the words *Mahodaya* and *Kuśasthala*, which in their conventional sense mean 'Kanauj,' and in their etymological sense mean 'full of high prosperity' and 'a spot of Kuśa grass' respectively. Not long after the event recorded in this verse took place, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes ruling over Northern India. Moreover, it has been suggested by Bhandarkar that after a short exile from his kingdom, Mahīpāla I was restored to it by the joint efforts of the Candella Harṣadeva and the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla.

The two statements furnished by the drama of Kṣemīśvara, and the Cambay plates of Govind IV definitely suggest one thing, namely, the clash between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who are correctly styled Karnāṭas, and King Mahīpāla of Kanauj.[5] We do not agree with Aiyangar that the Karnāṭa dynasty referred to in the gathā of *Caṇḍakauśikam* is an *older dynasty of Magadha which must have existed in that locality long before the time*

1. J. O. R. I. Madras Vol. VI pp. 91-198.
2. *Yam-mādyad-dvīpa-danta-ghāta-viṣmam Kālapriyaprāṅganam. Tīrṇa yat turagair-agādha-Yamunā-Sindu-prati-spardhinī. Yen=edam hi Mahodayāri-nagaram nirmūlam-unmūlitam. nāmna-dya'pi janiaḥ Kuśasthalam-iti khyātim param nīyate.* (E. I. Vo. VII p. 38, V. 19).
3. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIV p. 519.
4. E. I. Vol. VII pp. 30-33.
5. Commenting on this passage Prof. Sāstrī most judiciously observes that "the whole point of a comparison is, and here it is the similarity underlying the *Utprekṣa* of the verse, that there is some *Sadṛśya in the* midst of many differences between the two objects of comparison and we shall see presently that the *Sadṛśya* in the comparison is really to be sought in the exile of the king from his country, by the success of his enemies and his regaining position of it by diplomacy and foreign aid" (J.O.R.I. Vol. VI p. 193). Dr. N. Venkataramanayya suggests that the *Sadṛśya* would be most appropriate if the expulsion of the Karnāṭakas from the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom of Mahīpāla is placed at the beginning of his reign rather than in the middle. He further points out that Mahīpāla, after establishing himself firmly on the throne, planned an invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions as a measure of retaliation. He met with considerable success in his enterprise, and he not only reduced several people on the borderland of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom to

of the Pāla king Mahīpāla,[1] nor do we share the views of R. D. Bannerji who explains the allusion in Kṣemīśvara's drama to the Karṇāṭas as a reference to the celebrated expedition sent by Rājendra I Gāṅga-Koṇḍa—Cola which was repulsed by Mahīpāla I of Bengal about A.D. 1024[2]. The reference to the Karṇāṭas does not even imply the suppression of the revolt organised by the Karṇāṭas in the army of the Pāla ruler, as proposed by J. C. Ghosh.[3] It is a plain recording of the victory achieved by Mahīpāla I against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, probably a weak successor of Indra III, in the same way as we find Pampa celebrating the victory of his patron Narasiṁha over Mahīpāla in his *Pampa-Bhārata* Sten Konow presumes[4] that a single event is recorded, though differently, as the victory was claimed by both the sides, but we would like to suggest that there were more clashes, than one, with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers[5] after Indra III. The loss of help from the Cedi ruler of the north offered temptation to Mahīpāla to avenge for the defeat earlier suffered at the hands of Kokkalladeva and Indra III. The reference in the *Caṇḍakauśikam* to Kusumanagara need not be taken seriously. The main event is the defeat of the Karṇāṭas, and it is properly recorded.

The last in the list of Bengali scholars Dr. R. C. Majumdar[6] presents a sober view on the subject. He admits that "in the absence of further particulars, the probability is that king Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakauśikam* may be identified with the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. For, while there is no valid reason to regard Rajendra Cola as a Karṇāṭa, the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla undoubtedly had a life and death struggle with the Karṇāṭas

submission but annexed some of its outlying provinces including Lāṭa and Kārṇaṭa. It was for dislodging Mahīpāla from his territory that Indra III launched his expedition which, according to Pampa, began with the reconquest of Lāṭa, and was follpwed with the defeat of Mahīpāla at Ujjain and the subjugation of the seven Mālvas, and it terminated with the arrival of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the sack of Mahodaya. Dr. Venkataramanayya presumes too many events within a short time—the expulsion of the Karṇāṭa soldiers by Mahīpāla and his gaining the throne, followed by the consolidation of the kingdom and the conquest of the south including some territory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and finally the dislodging of Mahīpāla from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territories, and his expedition in the north and the sacking of Kanauj. All this seems impossible within a period of little more than two years—the total duration of Indra's reign.

1. J. I. H. Vol. III p. 340.
2. Op. cit.
3. I. C. Vol. II p. 354 to 356. J. C. Ghosh suggests that the Karṇāṭas mentioned in the drama of Kṣemīśvra were probably soldiers of fortune, some of whom might have taken the advantage of weak government in the early part of the reign of Mahīpāla, and invaded Kusumpura (Pātaliputra) and drove him from there. He possibly forgot to quote the Una (Junagarh State, Kathiawar) plate of the time of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva, mentioning Bāhukadhavala, most probably a feudatory of Bhoja I, who caused Dharma to flee and defeated a Karṇāṭa army (E.I. Vol. IX p. 6 ff.). This Dharma has been identified with Dharmapāla of Bengal, and it could be suggested that this inscription records a single event, the clash between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Pālas; and the Karṇāṭa army probably formed a part of Dharmapāla's forces. Even this would not help in identifying Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakauśikam* with the Pāla ruler of Bengal.
4. Indische drama p. 86.
5. We are told in the Karhad plates that Indra III's successor Govinda IV, instead of looking to the affairs of the State had taken to "vicious courses" and had thus "with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women displaced as beings (V. 20). The Kanarese poet Pampa testifies to the weakness of Govinda IV's rule by suggesting that he was defeated by one of his feudatories, Arikeśarin II of Puligeri (E.I. Vol. XIII p. 328-329).
6. History of Bengal, Vol. I pp. 149-150.

under Indra III. It is true that Mahīpāla was defeated, but the retreat of the Karṇāṭa forces and the reoccupation of Kanauj by Mahīpāla could easily be magnified by the court poet as a glorious victory of Mahīpāla over the Karṇāṭas, and such an assumption was well calculated to soothe the wounded vanity of the Pratihāras". It is fair to presume on the basis of the famous verse from the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, and the *Praśastigāthā* in the *Caṇḍakauśikam* that Mahīpāla was not quiet after his reinstatement, but imperialist, as he was, like his father and grandfather in his designs and manoeuvres, he totally avenged himself for his earlier defeats, and in his time the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, and from the Kullu Valley in the north upto the territory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south. He ruled over this extensive empire through his feudatories who may now be identified.

Mahīpāla's Feudatories. It was rather natural for Mahīpāla who had sought the help of the Candella king in regaining the throne to maintain the system of keeping feudatories in different parts of his empire. Most of them were owing allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāra family from the time of Bhoja the great, and, despite the troubled conditions at Kanauj, particularly at the time of the war of succession, they refrained from being insubordinate. A few might have been set up in the time of Mahīpāla in recognition of their assistance. Most of these feudatories were naturally helpful to him in his extensive conquest, and it is better to examine those records mentioning them, and the events connected with their careers.

The Cāpa family of the Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva was most loyal to the Kanauj house. This fact is clearly mentioned in the Haḍḍala[1] inscription recording grant to Maheśvarācārya by Dharaṇīvarāha, the donor who was the feudatory (*Mahā-Sāmantādhipati*) of this Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler. This Dharaṇīvarāha seems to be identical with the one mentioned in the Una grant of Avanivarman II[2]—Yoga, a feudatory of Mahendrapāla who was an opponent of the latter. It is probable that in Mahendrapāla's time the family of Dharaṇīvarāha might have accepted the supremacy of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. It is the earliest record of the time of Mahīpāla, dated in the year S. 836 on the fourth of the bright half of Pauṣa = 23rd December 914 A.D., and a person who regained the throne through the help of an ally would certainly take time to consolidate his position, before he could think of conquering other regions. It is, therefore, very probable that the family of Dharaṇivarāha, like that of Avanivarman, was owing allegiance to the Kanauj House from the time of Mahendrapāla.

Another feudatory of Mahīpāla was Bhāmanadeva of the Kahla[3] plate of the Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, dated in the V. S. 1134, who was the son of Guṇāmbhoḍhideva (Guṇasāgara I), a feudatory of Bhojadeva, from whom he had received a tract of land. Kahla is in the Gorakhpur District and, as suggested earlier, this Kalacuri probably helped Bhoja in his campaign against the Pālas and was rewarded for his services. This family of Guṇāmbhoḍhideva continued to owe allegiance to the Pratihāra family of Kanauj. Bhāmanadeva, son of Guṇāmbhoḍhideva from Madanadevī, who succeeded his step-brother Vallabha warred with the king of Dhara, evidently the Paramāra of Malwa. This was

1. Op. cit.
2. Op. cit.
3. E. I. Vol. VII pp. 88 ff.

possible for him only as an ally with his overlord, for a small principality had no business to pick up a quarrel with a big kingdom, situated hundreds of miles away.

The Guhila family of Cātsu[1] (26 miles south of Jaipur) was also owing allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāras. We learn from this inscription of Bālāditya that Śaṅkaragaṇa conquered Bhaṭa, king of the Gauda country, and made a present of this kingdom to his overlord (VV. 14 16). His son Harṣarāja conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja I (V. 19), evidently of the Kanauj Pratihāra family. His son Guhila, with his excellent horses from the sea coast, vanquished the Gauda king and levied tribute from princes in the east (V. 23). We have already utilised this piece of information suggesting Gurjara-Pratihāra conquest of Bengal in which the Guhilas took part as their feudatories. Guhila's son Bhaṭa (V. 25) led an expedition of conquest against kings of the south. (V. 26). This Bhaṭa, grandson of Harṣarāja a feudatory of Bhoja I, was very likely a feudatory of Mahīpāla, and he joined his overlord in his conquest of southern India, about which a reference is made in the famous verse from the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, as well as by Kṣemīśvara in the Gāthā Praśasti of his *Caṇḍakauśikam*.

These three houses—the Cāpas of Kathiawar, the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur and the Guhilas of Jaipur were permanent feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and their strategic position justified their existence. They probably did not take any part in the disputed succession and continued to be subordinate to the Kanauj throne. Besides these ones, there were probably two more feudatories—the Cāhamāna of Śākambharī and the Candellas of Jejakabhukti. The second part of the Partabgarh inscription of the time of the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla II of Mahodaya, dated in the V. S. 1003 = A.D. 944, mentions the kings of the Cāhamāna family as a source of great pleasure to King Bhojadeva. Govindarāja of this family fought against many foes, which he could have done only as a feudatory. Indrarāja, son of Durlabharāja of this family, built a temple, and when Mādhava, the great feudatory, great governor, and *Charge d'affaires*, came to Ujjayinī he bestowed the village of Dhārapadraka with all its appurtenances, at the request of the great feudatory Indrarāja for the repairs and maintenance of this temple. This inscription is important for shedding light on an important aspect of Gurjara-Pratihāra administration, namely, the relation between the feudatory and the provincial Governor, and the appointment of the feudatory chiefs as provincial heads. We shall, however, consider this point in a subsequent chapter on Gurjara-Pratihāra administration. Here we only suggest that the Cāhamāna family mentioned in the Partabgarh inscription was subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratihāras ; and possibly Durlabharāja, father of Indrarāja a contemporary of Mahendrapāla II, was a feudatory of Mahīpāla. As regards the position of Mādhava, it is better to take him as an administrative head rather than as a feudatory, despite the use of the term Mahāsāmanta. The relations with the Candellas call for special attention, and we intend reviewing it in detail.

Relations with the Candellas. The relations of the Gurjara-Pratihāras with the Candellas, with particular reference to the time of Mahīpāla I can be ascertained from a few Candella inscriptions. The Gurjara records are, however, silent on this point. The most important of these are the two Khajurāho inscriptions of Harṣadeva I, popularly called the Khajurāho fragmentary inscription found near the temple of

1. E. I. Vol. X p. 10 ff.

Vāmana,[1] and the Khajurāho inscription of Candella Dhaṅga[2] and of the time of the (the Pratihāra ?) Vināyakapāladeva, dated in the Vikrama year 1011=954 A.D. Another inscription[3] from Mau informs us that Dhaṅga, the son and successor of Yaśovarman, obtained the empire after defeating the Kanauj king. The evidence put forward on this subject is only one sided and one has to weigh it carefully.

We learn from line 10 of the first inscription that Kṣitipāla gained his throne through the help of the Candella ruler. Kielhorn presumes that the word *yena* refers to Harṣadeva, but we do not agree with him that the Candella ruler first defeated Kṣitipāla and then reinstated him. The expression only implies that he allied himself with Kṣitipāla as Kokkalladeva was interested in Bhoja.[4]

The second inscription mentions one Harṣa who carried on successful wars against the Gauḍas, Khasas, Kosalas, Kasmīras, Mithilas, Mālavas, Cedis, Kurus and Gurjaras, and particularly defeated the king of Cedi and captured the Kālañjara mountain. Now the identity of the Gurjara ruler who encountered the Candella King Harṣa may be established here. We also notice in this inscription that Yaśovarman had received the image of Vaikuṇṭha, which he had set up in the temple founded by him, from Devapāla, son of Herambapāla, who, in turn, had obtained it from Ṣāhi, the king of Kira. This king had received it from the lord of Bhoṭa who, again, had received it from the Kailāśa. Devapāla is called *Hayapati*. Kielhorn[5] identified him with Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription who was the son of Kṣitipāladeva of Kanauj. This Khajurāho inscription also mentions a prince Vināyakāpaladeva.

The Mau Candella inscription of Madanavarman mentions Dhaṅga defeating the king of *Kānyakubja (ni)khila(nṛipaṁ) yaḥ Kānyakubjaṁ narendraṁ samara-(bhu) vi-vijitya prāpa sāmrājyam=uccaiḥ* (*V*. 3).

In the light of these three inscriptions, the relations between the Candellas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras seem to have entered into three different phases—one of subordination, as an ally with nominal sovereignty, and of equal status probably with a shadow of allegiance. There can be little doubt that the Candellas before the time of Harṣadeva were subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratihāras. There was, in fact, no room for their expansion because of their geographical position. According to V. A. Smith[6], the Candella clan seems to have originated among the Gonds and cognate tribes in the territory known as Chatarpur State, and the early Candellas were probably subordinate to the powerful state founded by the Gurjaras.

The second phase commences with Harṣa, son of Rāhila. This feudatory family helped Kṣitipāla in getting back his throne, and might possibly have been rewarded with some additional territory. In a fragmentary inscription, discovered at Khajurāho, he is said to have conquered many proud enemies (*bhuj-vijit-āneka-driptari-vrindaḥ*)[7] which

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 121.
2. ibid.
3. ibid., pp. 197 ff.
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 251 ff.
5. E. I. Vol. I p. 123.
6. I. A. Vol. XXXVII p. 138.
7. E. I. Vol. I p. 122 V. 7.

he may have done on behalf of his Gurjara lord. The Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga, dated in V. S. 1059, informs us that Harṣa protected the whole earth after subduing his adversaries.[1] It seems that the Candella rulers were not unmindful of the weakening position at Kanauj and they were anxious to shake off even that shadow of allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāra family. This specific change is noticed in the time of Yaśovarman and his son Dhaṅga. In verse 23 of the Khajurāho inscription No. (2) of Dhaṅga it is suggested that Yaśovarman was a scorching fire to the Gurjaras (*marut-saṁjvaro Gurjarāṇām*). It seems rather strange how an ally and a feudatory, whose father had helped the Gurjara monarch to regain his throne, should be so uncharitable to that family. As Yaśovarman ruled till the year 954 A.D. his Gurjara-Pratihāra contemporaries were Vināyakapāladeva of the Bengal Asiatic Society Grant,[2] Devapāla of the Siyadoni record[3] and Mahendrapāladeva (II) of the Partabgarh inscription[4]. The second Khajurāho inscription mentions that Yaśovarman had obtained an image of Vaikuṇṭha from Devapāla, son of Herambapāla. He could never have got this image as a free gift, but probably as a trophy symbolising his victory over its owner. That particular inscription describes the circumstances and the hands through which that image had passed. One can well understand a feudatory handing over a trophy to his overlord, but it is improbable that the paramount sovereign should part with it so easily. Certain sentiments and religious feelings are always attached to such images, as would be evident from the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The image of Jain Tīrthaṅkara, earlier carried away by the Nandarāja, was brought back to Kaliṅga after three hundred years by this Kaliṅga ruler. It is clear that this Candella record refers to some clash with the Gurjara-Pratihāra family of Kanauj or some of its feudatory. The result to this enquiry would depend upon the identification of Aśvapati Devapāla, son of Herambapāla with Devapāla, son of Kṣitipāla of the Siyadoni inscription. We hope to consider this point while discussing the history of the later Gurjara-Pratihāras.

Mahīpala's relations with the Cedis and the Rāṣṭrakūtas. We have earlier suggested that the Cedi and Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers joined hands in defeating this Gurjara Pratihāra ruler who lost his throne temporarily, and they placed Bhojadeva (II) as their protégé. Mahīpāla sought the help of his Candella ally and feudatory Harṣadeva in regaining his throne. It was an opportune time, for the old Cedi ruler Kokkalladeva was no more, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Indra III, who ruled for a very short time, left weak successors. During this period Mahīpāla not only retrieved his kingdom, but he seems to have made extensive conquests, as the references from the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* and the *Caṇḍakauśikam* suggest. The indecisive struggle between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūtas, as well as with their allies continued even later on. We learn from the Karhad and the Deoli plates that Krisṇa conquered the forts of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa[5] which were situated in the very heart of the Candella country. Verse 30 of

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 142 VV. 25-28.
2. Op. cit.
3. E. I. Vol. I pp. 162 ff.
4. E. I. Vol. XIV pp. 174 ff.
5. The Benares Copper plate inscription of Karṇadeva describes the Candella Harṣa (evidently Harṣadeva) as the sovereign of Citrakūṭa (V. 7) E.I. Vol. II p. 29. In Verse 45 of the Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga (No. 2), he is represented as ruling the earth as far as Kālañjara, and as far as Bhasvat situated on the banks of the river Mālavā up to the banks of the river Kālindī

the Karhad plate[1] suggests that "on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region, simply by means of angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the hearts of the Gurjaras". This suggests that the Gurjara-Pratihāra-Candella relations were not disturbed so far, and they had a common foe, namely, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Krisṇa III,[2] who was probably occupying the two places mentioned above. The incident noticed in the Karhad Plate possibly happened in the time of Vināyakapāla, who was different from Kṣitipāla or Mahīpāla.

Relations with the Pālas : The relations between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Pālas continued to be strained, and it is likely that the latter took advantage of the weak Kanauj strategy, following the war of succession between Mahīpāla and Bhoja II and their allies, and the invasion of Indra III. Unfortunately there is no epigraphic evidence suggesting clash between the two powers. The Uddaṇḍapura (Bihar proper) image inscription[3] records the pious gift of Thāruka, son of Raṇakaucha (Ucha), resident of Uddaṇḍapura (modern Bihar town, Patna District) in the fifty fourth year of the illustrious Nārāyanapāladeva. This inscription suggests that Nārāyanapāla not only ruled for at least 54 years, but his kingdom included some portions of Bihar as well. The Baragaon (modern Nalanda-Bihar) inscription[4] dated in Saṁvat 24 of the reign of Rājyāpaladeva also confirms Pāla occupation of that portion of Bihar. Two other inscriptions—the Nālandā image inscription of the reign of P. M. P. Gopāla II, and the Bodhgaya, now Indian Museum. Calcutta, Buddha image inscription of the reign of Gopāladeva (II) may also be quoted.[5] The Pālas seem to have recovered portions of Bihar which they had earlier lost. It is interesting to note that neither the famous verse in the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, nor the *Gāthā Prāśasti* of the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, provide any reference to the conquest of Bihar, or Bengal by Mahīpāla.

An estimate of Mahīpāla. Mahīpāla seems to have ruled for nearly seventeen to eighteen years—a period full of events, but he had to face misfortunes. He seems to have lost his throne as a result of the conspiracy laid by the Cedi ruler Kokkalladeva, the main source of disruptive tendencies who placed his protégé Bhoja II on the throne. Mahīpāla ultimately came out successful, and he regained his throne through the help of his Candella ally. The period following was marked with stabilisation of the empire and conquest. He seems to have avenged himself of his earlier reverses. The Arab traveller Al-Masūdī, who visited the valley of the Indus at the beginning of Mahīpāla's

(Yamunā) and the frontier of the Cedi country, and even as far as the mountain Gopa or Gopādrī. This Kālañjara mountain, according to Verse 28 of this inscription, seems to have been conquered from the king of the Cedi.

1. E. I. Vol. IV pp. 284, 289.
2. There is some difficulty in determining the exact length of Krisṇa III's reign. The latest known date for his father is 931 A.D. (E. C. Vol. XI. pp. 29-30). The earliest date for Krisna as supplied by Inscription No. 476 (E.C.Vol. VIII), is 939A. D. Prof. Altekar suggests that Krisṇa III ascended the throne in December 939, or Mārgaśirśa 861 of the Śaka era, and his death took place between the 5th and 15th of the Caitra Śaka 890 before February 960 A.D. (History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas p. 123 note).
3. I. A. Vol. XLVII p. 110.
4. I. A. Vol. ibid. p. 111.
5. J. P. A. S. B. Vol. IV p. 105.

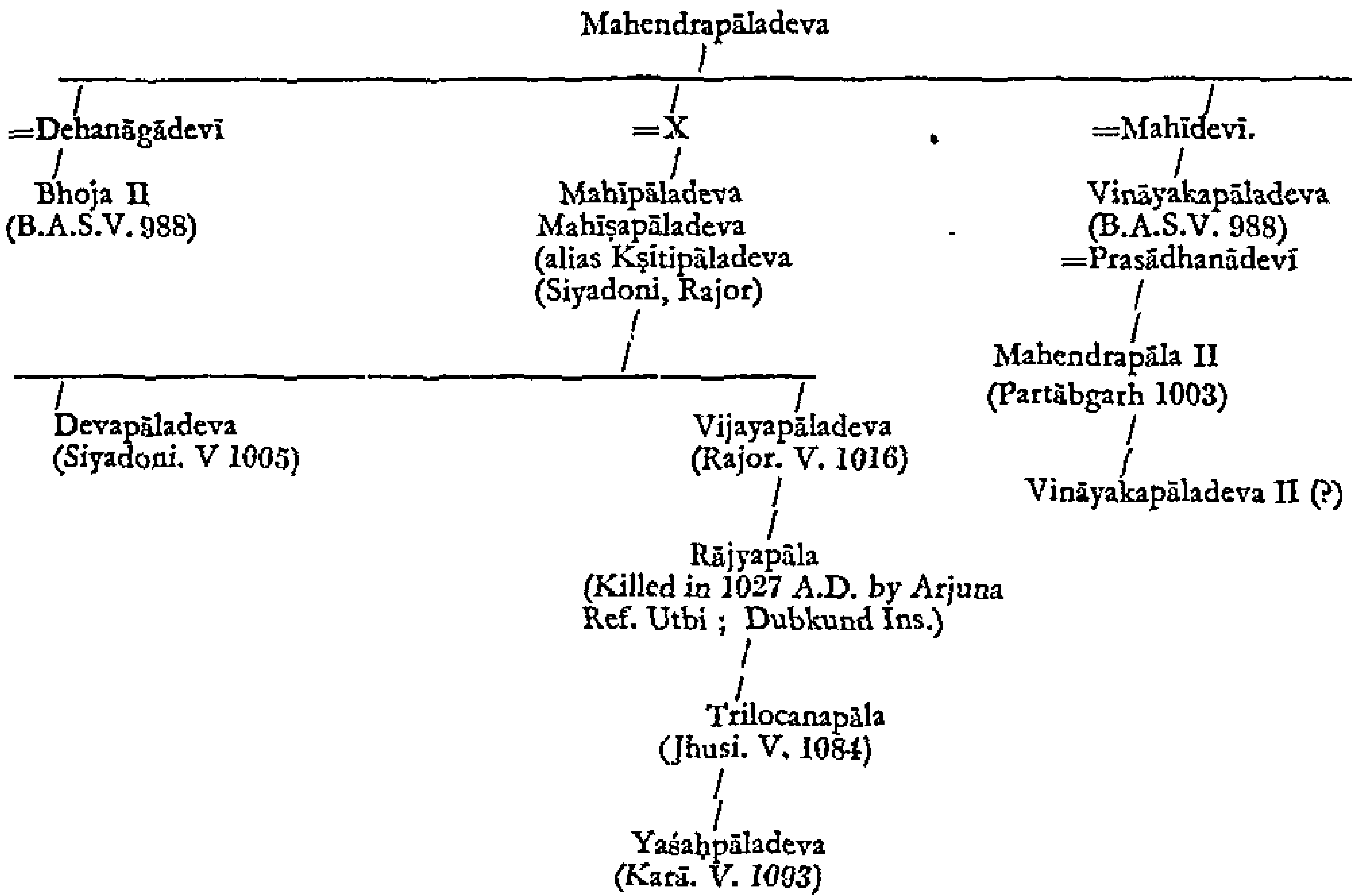
reign has referred to the struggle in general between Bauura, the king of Kanauj, and Balhara, the king of India. A struggle between the kings of Kanauj and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas—an ally of the Musalmans of Sind—continued for generations. His reference to the armies of Kanauj—four in number according to the four quarters of the wind—each containing 7,00,000 to 9,00,000 men—might be an exaggeration, but it may be accepted that the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler had to face the marauders in the west and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south, and he had made adequate arrangements to meet the two dangers. Mahīpāla was not merely a warrior, but also a patron of learning; and it was in his time that Rājaśekhara wrote his *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* and Kṣemīśvara his *Caṇḍakauśikam*. Probably both the dramas were staged in his court. The period of this Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler may be considered as the beginning of the decline of the Kanauj empire, though Mahīpāla tried his best ot preserve it intact. Disruptive tendencies had set in after the death of Mahendrapāla, and if his son and successor could manage to keep a firm hold ,it was more due to the personality and genius of this ruler than to any other factor.

Vināyakapāla. Vināyakapāla, son of Mahendrapāla from Mahīdevī, was the ruler of Kanauj in the Vikrama Saṁvat 988=931 A.D.[1]. As the grant mentioning his name was issued from Mahodaya, his regal status can hardly be questioned. Scholars have suggested that Mahīpāla, Kṣitipāla, Vināyakapāla, and Herambapāla were names of a single ruler—Mahīpāla, relying upon the identity of Devapāladeva (Siyadoni) with Devapāla (Khajurāho No. 11 of Dhaṅga) ruling in V. S. 1005. If the identity of the sons is established, the oneness of Kṣitipāla and Mahīpāla cannot be questioned. Further, as *Kṣiti* and *Mahī* are synonymous, and so also *Vināyaka* and *Heramba* representing the same god Gaṇeśa, it is at once presumed that all the names are synonymous, and they imply only one King—Mahīpāla. Kielhorn first suggested[2] the identity of Mahīpāla with Kṣitipāla and Herambapāla, and later on D. R. Bhandarkar assumed[3] that the four names represented Mahīpāla, and this contention was accepted by all the scholars until G. H. Ojha pointed[4] out that the identification theory was based on slender evidence. Devapāla, son of Herambapāla, bears the title of *Hayapati* which was never the accepted title of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. It is not mentioned in any of the Pratihāra records. There is little reason to assume that a scion of the paramount family could be addressed in this undignified manner. Further, Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla are known to be different kings of Mahodaya with dates which do not overlap, and there is little reason to justify their identification. We may now draw the genealogical table for further consideration.

1. Op. cit.
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 171.
3. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXI p. 406.
4. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 180.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

LATER PRATIHĀRAS



It is unfortunate that the name of Mahīpāla's mother is not mentioned in any record, which would have been decisive in pronunciation on the identity issue. There are certain other considerations worth mentioning. The name of Mahīpāla is omitted in the Bengal Asiatic Society Grant, and that of Vināyakapāla is ignored in the Asni inscription. This might be explained as incidental, but what about the Partābgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla (II) dated in the V. S. 1003 ? In this record the genealogical list is traced from Mahārāja-Devaśakti, and starts with the usual formulae—*Oṁ Svasti Srī Mahodaya-samāvasit-aneka-nau* (*go*)-*hasty-aśva-ratha-pattisampanna-skandhāvarāt=pa* (*ram-vai*) *ṣṇava*, like the imperial charters of Bhoja (cf. Barah, Daulatpur, Digha Dubauli and the Bengal Asiatic Society inscriptions). Here, too, Mahīpāla's name is left out. On the other hand, the Siyadoni and Rajor inscriptions, in which Kṣitipāladeva and his sons Devapāladeva and Vijayapāladeva respectively are attritbuted their full titles, do not mention Kṣitipāla's predecessor. The Jhusi (Allahabad District — now Bengal Asiatic Society) Plate of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Trilochanapāladeva mentions only the father P.M.P. Rājyapāladeva and the grandfather Vijayapāladeva of this ruler. Absence of names of one family members in the records of another and vice-versa is a strong ground for presuming that they belonged to separate groups. Further, the records have been found at different places, and are dated in years which do not overlap each other. It can, thus, be presumed that there is no ground for identifying Vināyakapāla with Kṣitipāla on the slender evidence of synonymous names, and the identity of P.M.P. Devapāladeva

of Vaikuṇṭha was not a free gift from this Devapāla, but possibly a trophy of victory. Moreover, Yaśovarman Candella is described as a "scorching fire to the Gurjaras", and he easily conquered the fort of Kālañjara. The same inscription also mentions Vināyakapāladeva as the ruling sovereign when this record was inscribed in the time of Dhaṅga. How can we explain this changed position ?

We, therefore, propose that this Devapāla, son of Herambapāla, might have been a Gurjara-Pratihāra feudatory who had a clash with the Candellas, and the reference to the Gurjarars in that inscription refers to the feudatory family. Yaśovarman may have quarreled with him without disturbing his relations with the ruling house at Kanauj. The conflict amongst the feudatories was not unusual. The Una[1] inscription of V. S. 954 mentions Avanivarman II—Yoga, a feudatory of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj who put to flight Dharaṇivarāha. According to the Haḍḍala[2] inscription of S. 836, this man was a feudatory of Mahīpāla of the same family. It seems likely that the main line ignored the quarrels of the feudatories.

Vināyakapāladeva II. The existence of this ruler, who does not figure anywhere in the dynastic list of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, nor in any of their inscriptions, is assumed from the Khajurāho inscription No. 2 of Dhaṅga which mentions the illustrious Vināyakapāladeva protecting the earth. *Vināyakapāladeva pālayati vasudhām*). Kielhorn editing this record, expressed his inability[3] to point out the relationship between this prince Vināyakapāladeva and the Candella ruler. Prof N. H. Ray hints[4] at the possibility of a second Vināyakapāla, but Dr. R. K. Dikshit suggests[5] that this Vināyakapāla was only a local king, as there was no Pratihāra ruler of that name at that time.

This question has to be re-considered. Firstly, the place where Vināyakapāla's name figures is reserved either for the scribe, or the person who was ruling at that time or both. There is no place for a local ruler in the record of a family which boasts of extensive conquests, and, actually, what could be his contribution in this record. As it is found at Khajurāho, and not at a far-off place, the question of a Candella feudatory does not arise. Moreover, this Vināyakapāla cannot be identified with the one mentioned in the Bengal Asiatic Society Grant, Rakhetra and the Partābgarh inscription, as the latter left his successor Mahendrapāla dated in V.S. 1003. It is probable that this Vināyakapāladeva was the son of Mahendrapāladeva and succeeded his uncle Devapāladeva about 950 A.D. During this period the Candella allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāras was only nominal. It is not possible to suggest the length of his reign, but Vijayapāladeva son of Kṣitipāladeva, a brother of Devapāladeva, was on the throne in V.S. 1016 = A.D. 959.

Mahīpāla II. The Bayana inscription[6], dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1012, has brought to light the existence of another ruler Mahārājadhirāja Mahīpāladeva. The inscription was found at Ukhamandir-Bayana (Bharatpur), and records the construction

1. Op. cit.
2. Op. cit.
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 124.
4. I. A. Vol. 53 p. 233.
5. Indian History Congress Proceedings (Jaipur Session) p. 114 ff.
6. Prog. Rep. A. S. I. West. Circle. 1918-19 pp. 43 ff.; ibid., 1919-20 p. 57.

of a temple of Viṣnu by a queen named Citralekhā during the reign of a king named Mahīpāla whose family is not mentioned. This Mahīpāla cannot be identified with king Mahīpāla of the Pāla dynasty whose postumous Sārnāth inscription[1] is dated in V.S. 1083, as Bayana was not included in his kingdom. The possibility of this Mahīpāla of the *Bayana record being a Paramāra king is also ruled out.* The Vasantagarh (Sirohi State, Rajputana) inscription[2] of the Paramāra Pūrṇamala of Candrāvati dated in V.S. 1099 also mentions a king Mahīpāla, the grandfather of this Pūrṇamala. It is likely that he might have lived about that time, but the identity of the two cannot be established, as the latter does not bear any title, and his territory could not have extended as far as Bharatpur. Thus, the Mahīpāla of this Bayana record was either a Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj, or a feudatory of that family. We accept the second alternative. This Mahīpāla is called Mahārājādhirāja, but that does not improve his status. The Rajor inscription of V.S. 1016 mentions Mahārājadhirāja Śri Mathanadeva, son of Mahārājādhirāja Śri Sāvata of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family, who was a feudatory to P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva, son of P.M.P. Kṣitipāladeva. Despite the assumption of even higher titles, Mathanadevás position remained unchanged, and he continued to owe allegiance to the Kanauj family. We suggest that this Mahārājādhirāja Mahīpāla of the Bayana record was a feudatory of Vināyakapāladeva II or Vijayapāladeva.

The position is further complicated by the Osia record of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja[3], dated in V.S. 1013, a year later than the Bayana one. In case we place Mahīpāla in the Kanauj group, there is no reason why Vatsarāja of this record be denied the same privilege. It would be difficult to presume that within a short period of ten years, there were three rulers—Devapāla, Vināyakapala II, and Mahīpāla II. These records have been found at places which are at considerable distance from each other, and it can only be presumed that someone or the other was the feudatory of the main line, and Mahīpāla, like Mathanadeva of the Rajor inscription, was the feudatory of the Kanauj house.

Vijayapāla. The existence of Vijayapāla and his successors is revealed from the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva, the Jhusi inscription of Trilocanapāla, and the Kara (Allahabad—now Bengal Asiatic Society) Plate of Mahārāja Yaśaḥpāla. Besides these, the Arab historians—especially *Birúni and Utbī, and certain contemporary records are* also helpful The Pratihāra inscriptions might be mentioned here in detail, while the other sources will be considerd at proper places. The Rajor inscription[4] was discovered among the ruins of the city of Parnagar, lying to the south of the village of Rajor or Rajorgarh in the Ragadh district of the Alwar state, 28 miles S.W. of the town of Alwar. This inscription, dated in the reign of P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Kṣitipāladeva, records the grant of Vaṁśapoṭaka Bhoga, Sambaddha-Vyāghrapatakagrāma (probably modern village of Baghor near Rajor), to the god Lacchukeśvara Mahādeva (so named after his mother Lacchukā). This inscription is equally important for its rich social and economic data, but from the point of view of Political history, it suggests that a feudatory of the main line assumed full powers, and the allegiance was only nominal. Vijayapāla was on the throne by A.D. 959.

1. I. A. Vol. XIV p. 140.
2. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 12 ff.
3. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1908-09 p. 108.
4. E. I. Vol. III p. 266.

The Jhusi inscription[1] of Trilocanapāla, dated in the V.S. 1084 (1027 A.D.), mentions P.M.P. Rājyapala as the successor of P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva. The donor of the grant—Trilocanapāladeva—is mentioned as the son of Vijayapāladeva. On the occasion of the *Dakṣināyaṇa saṁkrānti*-commencement of the sun's entrance on its southern course-the king gave the village of Lebhundaka in the Asurabhāka *viṣaya* to six thousand Brāhmaṇas belonging to various *gotras*, *pravaras* and different vedic schools. It is clear from the Jhusi record that there were only three rulers—Vijayapāla, Rājyapāla and Trilocanapāla who ruled between 959 and 1027 A.D. As Trilocanapāladeva was ruling in 1027 A.D., it is likely that he ascended the throne a few years earlier. Rājyapla was killed in A.D. 1019—the date given by Utbī of Mahmud's invasion of Kanauj—by Arjuna, an ally or a feudatory of (the Candella) Vidyadharā, as suggested in the Dubkund (Gwalior) Jain inscription[2] of the the Kacchapaghāṭa Mahārāja Vikramasiṁha. Within a period of 60 years, the two Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers—Vijayapāla and his son Rājyapāla—enjoyed the earth. Yaśaḥpāladeva was the last Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler and his identity is established by the Kara (Allahabad Dist.)—now Calcutta Museum inscription[3] of Mahārāja Yaśaḥpāla, and dated in the V.S. 1093 on the first day of the bright half of Aṣāḍha. It records the grant of the village of Payalāsa in the Kauśāmbī maṇḍala to Māthuravikaṭa of Pabosā.

Length of reign and contemporary rulers. It is clear from the Rajor and the Jhusi records that Vijayapāladeva and his son Rājyapāladeva ruled from A.D. 959-1019 A.D.—a period of 60 years, and dividing it equally betwen the two, we find the former's reign extending up to c. 989 A.D. The Pratihāra empire continued to decline steadily in his time. Several states, formerly owing allegiance to the Kanauj family, became independent. Gujarat was already lost, and Mūlarāja of the Caulukya family who had set up a kingdom at Anahillavāda (Anahilla-Pāṭaka) which included the south-western province of Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawad) including Gujarat.[4]

Dhaṅga, the Candella ruler, who ruled for nearly half a century, took full advantage of the steadily declining Pratihāra power. The Mau inscription refers to his attaining supreme lordship after inflicting a defeat over the king of Kanauj.[5] In the Khajuraho inscription No. 2, Dhaṅga's kingdom is described as extending as far as Kālañjara, and as far as Bhasvat situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mālavā, upto the banks of the river Kalandī (or Yamunā) (?) and to the frontiers of the Cedi country, and even as far as the mountain Gopadri.[6] The

1. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 34.
2. E. I. Vol. II.pp. 237 ff.
3. A. S. I. An. Rap. 1923-24 p. 123.
4. The Bijapur (Jodhpur State, Rajputana), now Ajmer Museum, Jain inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala and his son Balaprasāda mentions Dhavala giving shelter to the armies of a king whose name is lost and of the lord of the Gurjaras when Munjarāja had destroyed Āghaṭa, the pride of Medapaṭa (Mewar) who caused them to flee. He also afforded protection to Mahendra and Durlabharaja (brother and successor of Vigraharāja of the Haras inscription) and supported Dharanivarāha (E.I. Vol. X pp. 20 ff ; cf. B. G. Vol. I part I p. 6, 156 ; I. A. 1929 pp. 235, 236 — 8, I.A. Vol. VI p. 191-192.
5. E. I. Vol. I p. 193 V. 3.
6. E. I. Vol. I p. 124 V. 45. It is presumed on the authority of a copper plate inscription dated in the Vikrama year 1055 = A.D. 988 recording the grant of the village of Yulli (?) situated in the Usaravāha to the Bhaṭa Yaśodhara at Kāśika or Benaras that Dhaṅga carried his arms as far as

Sasbahu inscription[1] attributes the conquest of Gwalior to Kacchapaghāta prince Vajradāman who is said to have put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara, and his proclamation drum resounded in the fort of Gopādrī. A solitary record[2] of this Vajradāman on the pedestal of a giant figure, recovered from Gwalior, is dated in the Vikrama saṁvat 1034 = 977 A.D. It is, thus clear that Gwalior was lost to the Candellas, and the Kacchapaghāta prince Vajradāman was probably acting as the feudatory of Dhaṅga. The Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Vijayapāla lost the valuable fort of Gopādrī which had its strategic importance in the time of Bhoja and a special guardian was appointed for it. The loss of Gwalior was a heavy blow to the Gurjara-Pratihāra Empire.

The Cedis, occupying the territory between the Candellas in the north and the Caulukyas in the south, were not quiet. It may be pointed out here that Kolkalladeva I, the greatest disruptionist had interfered in the affairs at Kanauj and his protégé Bhoja II was on the Kanauj throne for a couple of years. We learn from the Goharwa Plate[3] of the year 1047 of the Kalacuri P.M.P. Karṇadeva that Lakṣmaṇarājadeva had defeated the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kaśmīra. This king Lakṣmaṇarājadeva was separated from king Karṇa by five generations—and allowing roughly a period of twenty years per generation we come to c. 950 A.D. as the time of Lakṣmaṇarāja. The statement in this record regarding Lakṣmaṇarājadeva's conquest is exaggerative as it was difficult for the Cedi prince to have overrun the whole of Northern India from Kaśmīra to Bengal, and then conquer the territories in the South of the Paṇḍyas and the province of Lāṭa in Western India. It has little historical significance, but it is likely that the Cedis might have joined hands with the Candellas in their clash against the Gurjaras, evidently the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

Mālava under the Paramāra rulers was another rising power. We learn from the Partabgarh inscription of king Mahendrapāla II[4], dated in V.S. 1003 = A.D. 946, that Mādhava was 'the great feudatory lord and Governor at Ujjayinī. Shortly afterwards, Sīyaka-Harṣa of the Paramāra dynasty governed Mālava between the Vikrama years 1005-1029 = A.D. 949-973.[5] This Mahāmaṇḍalika-Cūḍāmani Mahārājādhirāja-pati -Sīyaka II was a feudatory of the (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) P.M.P. Akāla-varṣa (=Kriṣṇa III). According to the Udaipura Praśasti,[6] Sīyaka-Harṣa took away the wealth of Khoṭṭiga who has been identified by Buhler with his Rāṣṭrakūṭa namesake (955-970 A.D.), the successor of Kriṣṇa III (c A.D. 940-955). Sīyaka Harṣa's successor was Vākpatimuñja whose known dates range from A.D. 974 to 994.[7] The Udaipur Praśasti records many notable

Benaras. The inscription was found at Nanyaura (Hamirpur district) — I. A. Vol. XVI pp. 20 ff.). The evidence is inconclusive for accepting Dhaṅga's hold over Benaras. From Hamirpur he could never have gone to Benaras without conquering Prayāga. The Jhusi inscription of Trilocanapāla and the Kara (Allahabad) inscription of Yaśaḥpāla definitely suggest Gurjara-Pratihāra hold over Allahabad even till the end of this family.

1. I. A. Vol. XV pp. 136 ff.
2. J. A. S. B. Vol. XXXI p. 393.
3. E. I. Vol. IX p. 146.
4. Op. cit.
5. E. I. Vol. XIX pp. 141 ff; Bhandarkar's List p. 397 note 3.
6. E. I. Vol. I p. 235 V. XII.
7. I. A. Vol. VI p. 51 ff.; Bhandarkar's List p. 397 note 5.

victories achieved by him over the Karnāṭas, Lāṭas, Keralas, Colas and Cedis (V. 14). There is no reference to the powers of the north. The Paramāras seem to have declared themselves independent of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and they conquered Mālava terminating Gurjara-Pratihāra hold over it. The Indore plate[1], quoted above, mentions three predecessors of Vākapatirājadeva-Krisnarāja, Vairasimha and Sīyakadeva with the usual titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja, Parameśvara, thereby suggesting that they were independent monarchs, but it is not possible to fix a certain date.

The confusion in the Kanauj family was responsible for the defections of many feudatories, the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī being one of them. The Haras (Jaipur State, Rajputana) stone inscription[2] of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja, dated in the Vikrama year 1030=A.D. 973, refers to Guvāka who was famous as a hero in the assembly of Nāgāvaloka (identified with Nāgabhaṭa II), and Vigraharāja of this family is mentioned in V.19 as 'having rescued both the fortunes of his family and the throne of victory from the distress which had befallen them'. There is also a reference to *Raghukula-bhū-Cakravarti* in the same verse meaning—'the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race' which might refer to the Gurjara-Pratihāra monarch, as supposed by Bhandarkar[3] on the authority of Rājaśekhara (Bāla I. 7). This inscription also suggests that Siṁharāja subdued the Tomara Chief (*Nāyaka*) Salavana, and put to flight and captured the hosts who had gathered under his kingdom. The princes captured in this struggle were kept in prison till the overlord who belonged to the family of Raghu came in person to his house to liberate them. The coming of the overlord to his feudatory is interpreted by scholars[4] as pointing to the growing importance of the Cāhamānas who were showing an independent attitude. The evidence, however, is too meagre to warrant any definite relation between the Cāhamānas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. It is, no doubt, certain that the former, depending on their own strength, were steadily carving out an independent kingdom by conquering adjoining territories.

The Guhilas were feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj, as suggested in the Partabgarh inscription[5] recording grant in V.S. 999=942 A.D. by Mahārāja Bhartṛipatta. Ojha identifies him with Bhadrapata, a son of Khommana III of Mewar of the Guhila family, and he also identifies Palāsakūpika with Parasia, about fifteen miles south of Mandasor. It is clear from part I of the same inscription, recording a grant of a village in favour of Vatayaksiṇīdevī by Mahārājādhirāja Mahendrapāladeva II of Mahodaya (Kanauj), dated V. Saṁvat 1003 or A.D. 946, that all these grants were consolidated in the year 1003 and this Bhartṛipatta was acting as a feudatory of the king of Kanauj. Shortly afterwards, the hold of the Kanauj family was lost over this territory. Allaṭa, the son and successor of Bhartṛipaṭṭa by his queen Mahālakṣmī, is mentioned in an unpublished damaged inscription found in a small Jain temple at Ahar near Udaipur, He killed in a straight fight his powerful enemy Devapāla who might be identified with Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription, the son of Kṣitipāladeva. The evidence on this point is inconclusive. According to Dr. Barnett this 'identification is possible but not very pro-

1. I. A. Vol. I pp. 51 ff.
2. E. I. Vol. II pp. 119 ff.
3. I. A. Vol. XLII. pp. 59 ff.
4. Ray: Dynastic History Vol. II. 1064; Tripathi: Kanauj. p. 280.
5. E. I. Vol. XIV pp. 117.

bable'.[1] Even though we may not accept the identification of the two Devapālas, there is little doubt that the Pratihāra hold over the territory occupied by the Guhilas was fast waning, and within a short time even that semblance of authority was no more, as is clear from the Ahar Saraṇeśvara temple inscription of Allaṭa, son of Bhartṛipaṭa II.[2] The picture seems to be a little clearer in the time of Rājyapāla, and the Guhilas occupying the Partapgarh region and the adjoining territory, were independent.

The north-west of India was under the Ṣāhi kings who were driven towards the Punjab by the Turks. According to Firishta,[3] the dominions of Jayapāla extended in length from Sirhind to Lamgana, and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmir to Multan." It is further suggested by him that "the king resided in the fort of Bhatinda (in the Patiala State) for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Mohammadans who troubled him by their repeated invasions."

The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was now localised in the Ganga Yamunā doab, surrounded on all sides by princes of different families, some of which were the former feudatories of the Kanauj House. When Rājyapāla ascended the throne, the decline of the empire was complete, and only the final blow was needed which ultimately came with the Turk invasion from the north.

Rājyapāla. We know from the Jhusi grant of Trilochanapāla, dated in V.S. 1084=A.D. 1027 that Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Rājyapāladeva meditated on the feet of P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva. It is difficult to suggest his probable date of accession, but it might be fixed near about 990 A.D. The history of this ruler is a record of reverses suffered at the hands of the Turks on the one hand and the local rulers, especially the Candella and his protégé, the Kacchapaghāta, on the other hand who took advantage of his pusillanimity and put an end to his life. The share of this ruler in stemming the tide of the Turk menace is not negligible. According to Firishta, when Jayapala had 'invoked help, and despatched letters seeking succour to the various provinces of India imploring aid', the princes of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjara and Kanauj assisted him with men and money.[4] This Kanauj king was probably Rājyapāla. According to this historian, once again, 'when Mahmud devised plans in the spring of the year H. 399 or 1008 A.D., to attack the Ṣāhi kingdom then under Ānandapāla, this Hindu ruler despatched ambassadors to all parts of Hindustan appealing for assistance from other rulers who 'now considered the expulsion of the Mahom-

1. At present there is no evidence that the Pratihāra emperor was killed but it is certain that he was not a very powerful prince. As suggested by or Dr. H. C. Ray, dissensions within, and an invasion from outside, hastened the decline and break-up of the Pratihāra empire. It is therefore not impossible that, like Rājyapāla (c. 1010 A.D.), he may have been killed in trying to put down internal foes who were often feudatories of the Kanauj Empire. ' (Dynastic History of Northern India Vol. II p. 1070-1170 Note 2).
2. I. A. Vol. LVIII p. 162. This inscription mentions Rājñī-Mahālakṣmī and her son, the king (Medinipati) Allaṭa and his son Naravāhana. Then it refers to Amātya Mammaṭa, the Sāṁdhivigrahika Durlabhrāja, the Akṣapaṭalakṣa Mayūra, and Samudra, Vandipati Nāga and the Bhiṣagadhirāja Rudrāditya. The reference to so many officials holding high and responsible positions is improbable in the grant of a feudatory.
3. Brigg's translation, Vol. I p. 15.
4. ibid., p. 18.

medans of India as a sacred duty.'[1] The king of Kanauj, who had helped his father on an earlier occasion, promptly answered the call of his campatriot and sent a huge contingent, his example being followed by the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālañjara, Delhi and Ajmer. This united effort of the states of Northern India to check the progress of the Muslims proved unsuccessful, and it only invited further trouble from Mahmūd who decided to deal with each of the confederated powers individually. Kanauj was not spared and the king had to face him.

Abu Nasr Muhammad Ibnó Mohammad Al Jabbarú-l-Utbí, popularly known as Utbí, who was secretary to Sultan Mahmūd, has given an account of this campaign. He informs[2] us that on the twentieth day of Rajab 409 A.H. (1018 A.D.) Mahmūd, after crossing the Jamuna, appeared at Baran (Bulandsahar) in the country of Hardat who submitted to the Sultan, and who claimed to be anxious for conversion and rejection of idols with 10,000 followers. Kulacanda was the chief whose fort was attacked next. His principality must have been near about Baran, and he bravely resisted Mahmūd dying a martyr's death. The next halt was at Mathurā which was sacked before the Muslim conquerot reached Kanauj arriving on the eighth day of Shaban. King Jayapāla,[3] hearing of his approach, deserted the city and fled across the Ganges. The Sultan advanced to the fortification of Kanauj which consisted of seven distinct forts. The Sultan took all the seven forts in one day and gave his soldiers leave to plunder them and take possession. Utbí does not mention the political consequence of this invasion. Very probably, after the devastation of Kanauj he left the city. Utbí only describes the progress of his campaign. From Kanauj Mahmud went to Munj, known as the fort of Brāhmanas who offered strong opposition. This was followed by the advance towards Asi. Its ruler was Candel Bhor, one of the chief men and generals of the Hindus. He was always engaged in a career of victory, and, at one time, was at war with the Rai of Kanauj. When Candal heard of the advance of the Sultan, he lost his heart from excess of fright. His five forts were demolished under orders from the Sultan and the inhabitants buried in their ruins. Utbí further describes the campaign towards Chandarāya, one of the greatest men of Hind who resided in the fort of Sharwa, identified by Cunningham[4] with Sirsawa to the east of the Jamuna near Saharanpur, and who was an enemy of Puru Jayapāla. The Sultan returned to his capital in the spring of that year.

We learn from the Dubkund inscription[5] of Vikramá Siṁha, dated Monday, the third half of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada of the year 1145=21st August 1088, that Arjuna, the brave grandfather of this Vikrama Siṁha was slain in the cause of the illustrious Vidyādharadeva, the illustrious Rājyapāla. Kielhorn places Arjuna

1. Ibid., p. 46. There is no reference to this confederacy either in Utbi's Tarīkh-i-Yāmini or in Ibna Asir's Kamil-Ut-Tawārikh.
2. Elliot and Dowson, History of India, Vol. II pp. 45 ff.
3. De Sacey reads 'Hebal'. Don calls the Raja 'Kattah'. Reinaud reads 'Rājapāla' and Rajaipāl. It may be presumed that he is the same as 'Guru Jayapāla' subsequently mentioned. Prof. Hodiwala suggests (Studies in Indo-Muslim History p. 149) that the name of the ruler of Kanauj was Rājyapāla not Jayapāla, as it is here in line 4 ff. There is no authority for calling him Jaichand.
4. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 47 n.
5. E. I. Vol. II pp. 232 ff. *Śrī-Vidyādharadeva-kārya-niratah Śrī Rājyapālam hathāt=kaṇṭhasthicc-bidan=eka-śāṇa nivahair=bahū mahty=āhave.*

sometime between Vikrama years 1060 and 1090. As regards Vidyādhara, he has been identified with the Candella king of that name, the successor of Gaṇḍādeva, and the predecessor of Vijayapāladeva.[1] This Candella Vidyādhara had brought about the destruction of the ruler of Kanauj. It appears that, in alliance with Arjuna, he destroyed the Kanauj family, as suggested in the Dubkund inscription.

V. A. Smith suggests[2] that the Candella Raja of Jejakabhukti and Kālañjara was indignant at the want of spirit shown by Rājyapāla who had submitted tamely to the foreigner, withdrawn from Kanauj and moved his court to Bari on the other side of the Ganges. The rulers of several other Hindu states sharing the dissatisfaction felt by Gaṇḍa found an alliance with him for the purpose of punishing Rājyapāla. The killing of this ruler, as a result of the conspiracy well laid by the Candella Crown Prince Vidyādhara, may be taken as an accepted fact but the cause is doubtful.[3] The Candella ruler did not fare better than the ruler of Kanauj. He was equally deficient in courage, and could not dare to face the fierce warriors of Islam. Rājyapāla, on the other hand, showed his patriotism twice by helping his compatriot Jaibal and Ānandapāla both with men and money. The old rivalry between the two families was the root cause of Rājyapāla's destruction at the hands of the Candella ruler and his feudatory.

Trilocanapāla. The Jhusi inscription[4] mentions *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Trilocanapāla, son of P. M. P. Rajyapāladeva who, while in residence on the banks of the Ganges at Prayāga, created the endowment described earlier. The record is dated in the year 1054 (of the Vikrama era) on the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa = 29th June 1027. The name of Trilocanapāla also occurs in Nizamuddin's narrative.[5] Describing the invasion of 410 H.=1019-20 A.D. the historian says that when Mahmūd reached the banks of the Jumna, Taru Jaipal (reading of Elliot's manuscript) who had so often fled before his troops and who had now come to assist Nanda encamped in the face of the Sultan. This reading Taru Jaibal might be a slight error for Trilocanapāla, the drafting of the upright stroke of the L (*Lam*) making all the difference (Taru Jaipāla تروجيپال ; Trilocanapāla ترلوجپال). The dots in Persian writing often go astray. The statement of Nizamuddin that Trilocanapāla had often fled before the Sultan seems true

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 196.
2. J. R. A. S. 1909 p. 278.
3. In the Kamil-ut-Tawārīkh, Ibn-ul-Asir deposes that Bida, (corrupted form of Vidya or Vidyādhara) who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory, and had the largest armies, and whose kingdom was called Kajuraha, sent messengers to the Rai of Kanauj called Rājyapāla rebuking him for his flight and the surrender of his dominions to the Musalmans. Hostilities then broke out between them with the result that Rājyapāla was killed in the fight and most of his soldiers also perished (ed. Bulak (1874) Vol. IX pp. 115 ff.—quoted from Ray : Dynastic History Vol. I p. 606). The explanation that Rājyapāla's death was a punishment inflicted by his allies for his failure to resist the invader, and that Mahmud returned to India with the special purpose of punishing the Hindu allies in his turn are due to Nizamuddin, the author of *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*. By the accidental omission of a stroke the name of Ganda is transformed into Nanda in the Persian texts. Utbī, the personal secretary of Sultan Mahmūd, has not mentioned this incident. According to Dr. H. C. Ray, *Nanda* is a mistake not for *Gaṇḍa* but for *Bida* of Ibn-ūl-Asīr. Op. cit. p. 606).
4. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 34.
5. Tabaqāt-i-Ākbari. Bibliotheca Indica. Trans B. Dey. p. 12.

when we remember that the son must have shared his fathers' fate in the preceding year. The transfer of the Pratihāra capital from Kanauj to Bari is denied by Alberūnī.[1] The find spot of the inscription of Trilocanapāla may warrant the supposition that, after the plunder and evacuation of Kanauj and Bari, the successors of Rājyapāla retired towards the southern portion of their fast dwinding kingdom. These high sounding titles, assumed by Trilocanapāla in his own grant, suggest that he was not a feudatory of the Candellas, though his territory in the north was lost and his father was killed. He continued to rule till the year 1027 A.D. The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was now localised in that region.

Yaśahpāla. The date of Trilocanapāla's death is not recorded, nor is there any definite information regarding his successor, but the Kara (Allahabad dist.) inscription[2] dated in the V.S. 1093 = 1036-37 A.D. records the gift of the Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Yaśahpāladeva. 'He commands the Mahant (headman or other official) in the village of Payalāsa in the maṇḍala of Kauśāmbī that the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, other income (prayadaya) etc. together with the tenth part of the produce should be paid to donee-Māthura vikaṭa-his sons and grandsons'. The exact relation of Yaśahpala with Trilocanapāla can not be determined, but it is certain that the former succeeded the latter either as an usurper or otherwise. He is styled only as a Mahārāja which might suggest that he was content to be a local ruler of the Allahabad district, and the symbol of the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāra sovereignty was no more.

The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, founded by Nāgabhaṭa, which through the efforts of Bhoja, Mahendrapāla, and Mahīpāla extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, and could withstand the attacks of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the south, and stem the progress of the Arab incursions in the north-west, was now reduced to a small principality in the Allahabad district. Even that semblance of Gurjara glory was about to vanish. Yaśahapala was the last ruler, probably of this family. It is not known how and when he met his end, but one thing is certain: the dust raised by the razing of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire took some time to settle down before the foundations of the famous Gāhaḍavālas could be laid on its ruins at Kanauj.[3]

1. Elliot and Dowson: Vol. I p. 54; Vol. II p. 464.
2. J. R. A. S. 1927, p. 694.
3. It is proposed by Dr. R. S. Tripathī that Gopāla mentioned as a king of Gādhīpura (Gādhīpurādhīpa) in the Saheth-Maheth stone inscription of V. S. 1176=1118 A.D. ruled over Kanauj just before its conquest by Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla about the last decade of the eleventh century A.D. (History of Kanauj p. 289). This Gopāla has been identified for namesake with the one mentioned in the Badaun Inscription (E.I. Vol. p. 61 ff.). Mr. N. B. Sanyal suggests that a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ruled over Kanauj for a short time before the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas (J. A. S.B. Vol. XXI No. I pp. 103-106). The identity of Gopāla of this record with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa namesake has been accepted by D. R. Bhandarkar (List of Inscriptions, p. 33, note 1).

Chapter VI

ADMINISTRATION

The epigraphic records of the Gurjara Pratihāra rulers and their feudatories enable us to draw an outline of the general framework of administration. This vast empire, at one time, extending from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea could not have been directly governed by the centre, and so the appointment of provincial Governors and feudatory chiefs was a necessity. The division of the empire into *viṣayas*, *maṇḍalas* and *bhuktis* — with a chain of officers providing fuller scope for the local councils to look after their interest—suggest that there was no vacuum in the administrative set up. The inscriptions also refer, sometimes, to the sources of state income which might imply the extent to which the Government of the Pratihāra rulers was alive to the fiscal aspect of administration. We propose considering the subject under the following heads :— Position of kings and their titles—division of the empire into *viṣayas*, *bhuktis*, *maṇḍalas*, and *pathaka*, feudatories with their titles and provincial heads, executive officials, local administrative set up, sources of state income, and lastly a resume.

Position of kings : The first few rulers—Nāgabhaṭa I, Kakkuka, and Devarāja are not assigned any title, but Vatsarāja carries the epithet—*Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*. From Nāgabhaṭa onwards the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers invariably use the set of titles—*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* meaning 'the great Lord, king of kings, the supreme lord.' The use of so many epithets is in consonance with their regal status. Their feudatories do not have all these titles, but some use one, as for example, Mahārājādhirāja Śri Niṣkalaṅka (Siyadoni),[1] or two of these titles—Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the illustrious Mathanadeva (Rajor),[2] In some records of these rulers, even a single appellation is wanting, as for example, the great king Bhoja is simply addressed by his *biruda Ādivarāha* (Gwalior).[3] This does not minimise his position consequent to the loss of the territory, because in other inscriptions[4] the same ruler is given the usual epithets *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*. In the time of Yaśaḥpāladeva—the last ruler—the Gurjara-Pratihāra territory was considerably reduced, and probably confined to the Allahabad District and the neighbouring region, and so he is simply called Mahārājādhirāja (Kara).[5] Earlier, too, some other Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers like Mahendrapāla II (Partapgarh)[6] and Vināyakapāladeva (B.A.S. Grant)[7] are addressed as Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja respectively, but in both the records all the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers in the dynastic list are given the same epithets.

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 159 ff.
2. E. I. Vol. III p. 266.
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 159 ff.
4. Ref. Deogarh, Ahar, Pehova,
5. J.R.A.S. 1927 p. 694.
6. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 175 f.
7. I. A. Vol. XV p. 135 f.

The king seems to have enjoyed the highest position in the state and sovereignty vested in him. He appointed the feudal lords and the provincial chiefs, and his name figures prominently even in the records of endowments set up in the remotest corners of his kingdom. Thus the Hansot[1] (Broach District) plates of Bhartrivaddha II mention the name of Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa I) as the paramount lord, and so also the Una plate[2] of Avanivarman II. The feudatories were appointed by the king, as we find in the Deogarh inscription[3] that king Bhojadeva granted the *Pañcamahāśabda* to Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma. Even the grant issued by these chiefs had to be sanctioned by the king or his *charge d'affaires*. The Una inscription records the issue of the grant by Avanivarman II—Yoga with the approval of Dhiika, the *tantrapāla* of Mahendrapāla. Another point which strikes one's attention is that the king had considerable hold over these feudatories who had to provide forces in times of need, and they also joined their overlord. We notice Kakka of the other line gaining reputation by fighting with the Gaudas at Mudgagiri,[4] and Bāhukadhavala of the Una plate causing Dharma (evidently Dharampāla) to flee and defeating a Karṇāṭa army. Such feudatory chiefs had no business to cover such long distances and fight an enemy at his door hundreds of miles away except at the instance of, and in the company of the overlords. Important officials were also appointed by the king, as we find in the case of Allaṭa appointed by Bhojadeva as 'the guardian of the fort' (Koṭṭapāla).[5]

The records do not shed any light on the legislative or judicial powers of the king, but there is no doubt that he wielded power—the strength, however, varying with the personality of the ruler. If he was a weak one, like Rāmabhadra, even the nearer feudatories did not hesitate to shake off their allegiance to him but strong rulers like Bhoja and Mahendrapāla could control feudatories and officials stationed in Kathiawar. There is unfortunately no reference to his *mantrins* or advisers, and the council of ministers (*Mantripariṣad*), as we find in the Mauryan period, but a perusal of the list of officials noticed in the records would suggest that the administrative machinery was not one man's show.

Division of the empire. It was natural for the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers to divide their empire into a number of provincial units—divisions, districts and sub-divisions. The terms used in the records are *viṣaya*, *bhūmi*, *maṇḍala*, *bhukti* and *pathaka*. The usage of these terms in numerous records might help in suggesting the territorial divisions, implied by each one of these units. Once we have determined their territorial implications, it would not be difficult to visualise the administrative division of the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers.

Viṣaya. According to the Lexicons this term implies *deśa*, *upavartana*, *janapada* and *rāṣṭra*. There is a reference to Lāṭa-Sindhuviṣaya in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*.[6] The *Hitopadeśa* mentions Gauḍa[7] *viṣaya* and Kalhaṇa refers to Lahara[8] *viṣaya*. The term is

1. E. I. Vol. XII p. 101 f.
2. E. I. Vol. IX p. 6 f.
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 309 f.
4. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 95 ff.
5. E. I. Vol. I p. 159 f.
6. 69. 11.
7. 27. 22.
8. V. 55.

noticed by Pāṇini,[1] in the *Mahābhārata*,[2] and also by Hemacandra.[3] In the *Amarakoṣa*[4] it is taken as synonymous with *deśa* and *upavartana*. In the light of these observations, *viṣaya* implies a country or a *janapada*. In the inscriptions, however, the term suggests a smaller area and not a big country. The Barah[5] copper plate inscription of Bhoja records the grant of the *agrahāra*, called Valākāgrahāra, in which lay the Udumbara *viṣaya* of the Kālañjara *maṇḍala* in the Kānyakubja *bhukti*. The administrative units mentioned in this record seem to be in ascending order, as Kānayakubja definitely represents the highest unit. The Dighwa-Dubauli inscription[6] mentions these divisions in the descending order—Śrāvastī *bhukti*, Śrāvastī *maṇḍala*, Valāyika *viṣaya* and Paniyaka *grāma*. Comparing the two, we find that Kanauj and Śrāvastī, as *bhuktis*, were highest divisions, followed by districts and sub-divisions. It would not, therefore, be improper to presume that a *viṣaya* conveyed the idea of a modern tahsil or a smaller district as used in the records. In inscriptions[7] it is mentioned as a unit higher than the village and is always placed next to it where the administration units are mentioned in the ascending or in descending order.

Maṇḍala. It was the next higher unit corresponding to a modern district. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[8] mentions Kaśmīra as a *maṇḍala*, and so also does the *Mahābhārata*.[9] But Kaśmīra has always been a country or a *deśa*. The reference to it as a district can only be due to the loose use of this term. In inscriptions *maṇḍala* has always been taken in the sense of a district lower than the *bhukti* but higher than a *viṣaya* in the administrative set up.[10] Sometimes the *maṇḍala* and the *bhukti* are the same, as for example, Śrāvastī is both in the Dighwa-Dubauli record. It may be presumed that the district and the division could be the same, as for instance, the present Allahabad in the Uttara Pradeśa is both a division and a district—the distinction between the two being that the former includes the latter as well as a few other districts. Śrāvastī enjoyed the status of a division in the time of Harṣa as well, as we notice in the Madhuvan copper plate inscription[11] of Harṣa, but there is no reference to the *maṇḍala* of that name, though another *viṣaya* Kuṇḍadhāni is mentioned. The Gurjara-Pratihāra records mention four *maṇḍalas*—Kālañjara, (Barah), Śrāvastī (Dighwa-Dubauli), Saurāṣṭra (Una) and Kauśamba (Kara).

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1. IV. 2, 52.
2. I. 7541.
3. 947.
4. II. 1. 8.
5. Op. cit.
6. I. A. Vol. XV p. 112.
7. Op. cit.
8. I. 27.
9. III, 10545.
10. The Amgacchi grant of Vigrahapāla III (E.I. Vol. XV p. 295) mentions Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*, Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* and Brahmagrāma *maṇḍala*—translated by R. D. Banerji as in the *maṇḍala* of Brahamaṇīgrāma included in the *viṣaya* of Koṭivarṣa, in the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana". Editing the Nalanda Copper Plate of Devapāladeva, Hīrānanda Śāstrī suggests that "the term *maṇḍala* connotes a larger area than a *viṣaya*, which in a majority of cases seems to include a *maṇḍala* (E.I. Vol. XVII p. 316 ; cf. E.I. Vol. IV p. 253 n. 3). The language of Śāstrī's statement is defective ; while at one place he thinks that *maṇḍala* connotes a larger area, at another place he includes *maṇḍala* in a *viṣaya*. This anomalous position is inexplicable.
11. E.I. Vol. I. p. 71.

All these were sufficiently important places and they could hardly be classed in the administrative unit smaller than a *viṣaya*, which in the case of the two associated with these *maṇḍalas*—Udumbara with Kālañjara (Barah) and Valayika with Śrāvastī (Dighwa-Dubauli)—are unidentified.

Bhukti. It certainly connoted the highest administrative division in the administrative system. It is noticed only in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[1] The Damodarpur Copper Plate inscriptions[2] mention Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* or province administered by the Uparika Cirātadatta who was selected by the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta (I) and the latter appointed Kumārāmātya Vetravarman who was administering the government of the town (*adhiṣṭānādhikaraṇa*) of the Koṭivarṣa viṣaya. This *bhukti* is noticed in several other Gupta records[3] connoting the same place along with this viṣaya. Pundravardhara continued to be a provincial unit (*bhukti*) in the time of Dharampāladeva, and Vyāghratati *maṇḍala* lay within that *bhukti*.[4] The Barah and the Dighwa-Dubauli inscriptions mention Kānyakubja and Śrāvastī *bhuktis* respectively. It is not unlikely that Kānyakubja or Kanauj was both a *Skandhāvara or the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāras* and also the provincial or divisional unit. It is just like Delhi being the capital of India, and also as a state. *Bhukti* was, thus, the highest administrative unit in the Gurjara-Pratihāra administration.

Pathaka. The Bengal Asiatic Society plate of Vināyakapāladeva of V.988 mentions Kāśīpura *pathaka* in the Vārāṇasī *viṣaya* and the Pratiṣṭhāna *bhukti*. Though it is not noticed in literature, according to the Lexicons[5] it means 'a Canton'. A Valabhi grant[6] dated in the (Valabhi) Saṁvat 304 mentions Kalapak (modern Kalavada), 60 miles north-west of Porbandar, as a *pathaka*. A late inscription of V.S. 1343 from Mala (Dungarpur State, Rajputana) of Vīrasiṅghadeva mentions a village Mala in the Katija (modern Katiyor) *pathaka* which has been translated by the editor of the record[7] as 'a district'. According to the solitary record of the time of Vināyakapāladeva, Kāśīpura lay in the Vārāṇaśī *viṣaya* and in the *bhukti* of Pratiṣṭhāna, which, if identified with Bithor,[8] would suggest that another provincial seat was quite close to the metropolis. Vārāṇaśī, as an administrative centre, was important even in the time of the Kuṣāṇas[9] and Vanaspara and Kharapallana were there as *Kṣatrapa* and *Mahākṣatrapa* respectively.

Bhūmi. It seems to represent a country or territory in its generic sense. The Daulatpur inscription mentions Deṇḍavānaka *viṣaya* in the Gurjaratrā *bhūmi* implying in a general sense the 'land of the Gurjaras'.

As suggested by these terms, mentioned in the Gurjara-Pratihāra records, we propose three provincial seats, one at Kanauj, another at Śrāvastī and the third at Pratiṣṭhāna,

1. V. 170.
2. E. I. Vol. XV pp. 130 ff.
3. E. I. Vol. XX p. 61 ff.
4. E.I. Vol. IV p. 243 ff.
5. Monier Williams Dictionary p. 582.
6. E. I. Vol. XX p. 182.
7. E. I. Vol. XXII p. 104.
8. Geog. Dict. p. 150.
9. E.I. Vol. VIII p. 176 ff.

and their jurisdiction extended for hundreds of miles. It is rather strange that unlike the Gupta inscriptions especially of the Damodarpur group, there is no reference to the heads of these units. The second record does not refer to any administrative officer. In both the instances, the gifts of villages were made directly by the kings. The *maṇḍalas* or divisions noticed in the records are Kālañjara, Śrāvastī, Saurāṣṭra and Kauśāmba which were very important places. Saurāṣṭra was a Janapada or a country, as noticed by Rājaśekhara. In an earlier record[1], dated in the Gupta Valabhī saṁvat 304 it is mentioned as a *viṣaya*. There are references to only five districts or *viṣayas*-Udumbura (unidentified) Dendavanaka (Didwana), Valayika (unidentified), Vārāṇasi (Benaras) and Asurabhāka (unidentified). All these *viṣaya* are noticed in the records announcing dedications made by the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings or their allies. We may, however, suggest that the administrative units were in the following order :—Śrāvastī and Vārāṇasī in the east, Kālañjara in the south, Kauśāmbī in the centre and Deṇḍavānaka in Rajputana in the west. Gwalior had its military and strategic importance and it was under a *Koṭṭapāla*. Saurāṣṭra formed a separate unit under a feudatory.

Governors and feudatories. The inscriptions also mention a number of feudatories and governors who were appointed by the centre. A point worth considering is the use of titles by the feudatories and the governors. The Mahāsāmanta Balavarman, son of Amanivarman I, was a feudatory in the real sense, as he had obtained the *pañcamahāśabdas* from the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja Parameśvara Mahendrāyuddhaveva.[2] The Deogarh inscription[3] refers to the feudatory Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma to whom five *mahāśabdas* had been granted by Bhojadeva. The Siyadoni inscription (No. 2) mentions Uṇḍabhaṭa with the epithet *mahāpratihāra, mahāsāmantādhipati, samadhigatāśeṣamahāśabda*.[4] The Haḍḍala inscription[5] mentions another feudatory Dharaṇivarāha styled *mahāsāmantādhipati*. The Deogarh inscription also suggests that the feudatories were hereditary in character. The Una inscription furnishes interesting details on this point. We learn that Bāhukadhavala had caused Dharmapāla to flee and defeated a Karṇāṭa army. This was done at the instance of his over lord the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa. We find that, despite vicissitudes in the Kanauj family, the great grandson of Bāhukadhavala—Avanivarman II, who had vanquished Yakṣadāsa and put to flight Dharaṇīvarāha, made the grant with the approval of Dhiika, the *tantrapāla* of Mahendrapāladeva. This suggests continuance of allegiance of the Cālukya family to the Gurjara-Pratihāras at Kanauj. In other cases the feudatories themselves were created by the Gurjara-Pratihāra overlords, and they did not inherit the position enjoyed by their families. There is no reference to the dismissal of feudatories which could be possible in cases of gross negligence or wilful defiance of authority.

1. E. I. Vol. XII p. 182.
2. E. I. Vol. IX p. 114 ff.
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 309 f.
4. E. I. Vol. I pp. 163 ff. A Terahi (a village on the Mohawar river in the state of Gwalior) inscription dated in the Vikrama saṁvat 960=A.D. 903-4 records that on the fourth day of the dark half of the month of Bhādrapada there took place on the Madhuveṇī a fight between the Mahāsāmantādipatis, the illustrious Guṇarāja and the illustrious Undabhaṭa in which the Koṭṭapāla or guardian of the fort the illustrious Caṇḍīyana, and adherent or follower of Guṇarāja was killed (I.A. Vo. XVII p. 201). This Uṇḍabhaṭa is identical with the one mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription.
5. I. A. Vol. XII p. 193 ff.

Provincial Governors. The relations between the feudatories and the Governors vis-a-vis the king also call for attention. The Siyadoni inscription mentions Mahārāja Dhurabhaṭa, as governor of Siyadoni. The relations between Uṇdabhaṭa and Dhurabhaṭa are not clear, as the other record is dated five years later. The Partabgarh inscription[1] mentions the grant of a village in favour of Indrāditadeva by Mādhava, the provincial head at Ujjain, at the request of the Cāhamāna Indrarāja. Mādhava, as provincial chief, certainly enjoyed a higher status, and the Cāhamāna Mahāsāmanta Indrarāja was much inferior to him in rank, as the titles imply. We are, thus, in a position to suggest that the Provincial head enjoyed a higher status and controlled the feudatories. The Una inscription corroborates this fact. Despite the family allegiance of the Cālukyas extending over a couple of generations, we find that the permission of a higher official of Mahendrāyuddha, Śrī Dhiika was necessary for the grant of land by *mahāsāmanta* Balavarman. We notice that there was a governor at Siyadoni (Lalitpur), and another at Ujjayinī, while a *tantrapāla* was stationed in Kathiawar.

Administrative Officers. The Administrative machinery was put in motion by the chain of officers who are mentioned in different records. They belonged to different grades, and a consideration of the terms might help in suggesting the functions assigned to them. We find in records some officers with a number of epithets or high sounding administrative titles, such as Mādhava of the Partabgarh inscription[2] is called *tantrapāla, mahāsāmanta mahādandanāyaka*. As these titles carry separate administrative responsibilities it might be inferred that the same person either combined in himself all the functions attached to these offices, or he had to pass through all these administrative posts in his official career. We now propose considering these terms.

Rāṣṭrapati. This term, noticed in the Haḍḍala inscription[3], is a high sounding title of which the meaning varies according to the context. In the Haḍḍala record of the Cāpa mahāsāmanta Dharaṇīvarāha, who was himself a feudatory, this term could not have been used in the sense of 'the head of the state'. It is associated with a number of small officials like *grāmapati, bhogika*, and a few other officials who were informed of this endowment. It might imply the head of a unit larger than a village, may be, a canton or a district.

Bhūnātha. Gogga of the undated Pehoa Praśasti of the time of Mahendrapāla is called *bhūnātha*, meaning 'the lord of the earth', corresponding to *rājā*, the title used for his ancestor Jaula 'who obtained prosperity by looking after the affairs of the king'. As there is no reference to the grant of the *Pañcamahāśabdas*, nor is he styled as *mahāsāmanta*, it might be presumed that he was a dignified administrative officer only.

Tantarapāla. Both the Una and the Partabgarh inscriptions mention this title. In the former, it is used singly and attributed to Dhiika who sanctioned the grant of the great feudatory Avanivarman, while in the latter it is bracketted with the two other titles—*mahāsāmanta* and *mahādandanāyaka*. In both these cases the feudatories were under him. The Partapgarh inscription mentions his headquarters, but the Una record does not

1. Op. cit.
2. ibid.
3. Op. cit.

furnish any information on this point. This administrative term is also noticed in the Sudi inscription,[1] and is translated by Dr. Barnett as "Councillor", but he seems to have wielded high position and power over the feudatories. It is probable that he was the resident of the king in the feudatory state, and his powers included those conferred on him by the king.

Daṇḍanāyaka. This term is noticed in numerous records dating as early as the time of Kuṣāṇas, and it also occurs in literature.[2] It has been translated as "Magistrate Commander of the forces" or 'the wielder of the rod (tender)' who exercised both executive and judicial functions. We also notice references to *daṇḍanāyaka*, *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāpracaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka*. This gradation might be compared with the Mansabdari system of the Moghul times. Fortunately this term is noticed in a solitary record. The Partabgarh inscription mentions Mādhava—the chieftain at Ujjayinī with the epithets—*mahāsāmanta*, *daṇḍanāyaka*. and in the next line *tantrapāla*, *mahāsāmanta mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. G. H. Ojha translates the titles as, "the great feudatory, the great governor and *charge d'affaires*". This man was the great feudatory Lord and governor at Ujjayinī, while Śrī Śarman, appointed by Kokkaṭa who was the commander-in-chief serving at the feet of the Parameśvara (that is Mahendrapāla II), was carrying on the affairs of the state at Maṇḍapikā. This raises another problem which we shall consider later on.

Balādhikṛita. It is also mentioned in several records,[3] and in literature[4] *balādhyakṣa* is equated with *senāpati* (*senāpatibalādhyakṣau*). It is difficult to suggest that the terms *daṇḍanāyaka*, *balādhikrita* and *senāpati* convey the same meaning, namely the "Commander of the forces". It is improbable that the commander-in-chief should be entrusted with the task of making a civil appointment of Śrīśarman to carry on the affairs of the state at Maṇḍapikā. We, therefore, propose that *balādhikrita* was an officer, attached to the Secretariat for handling the military department. Such an appointment was made by the king, and it was conveyed through his military secretary called *balādhikrita* Kokkaṭa. If it meant granting of the *Pañcamahāśabdas*, surely the king's name would have found a place.

Daṇḍapāśika. The Ahar[5] inscription (No. 1) mentions Āmrāditya as *daṇḍapāśika* and this administrative officer is also mentioned in the Una record of Avanivarman II along with *daṇḍoddharaṇika* (probably *Cauroddharaṇika*) and a few others. This officer is

1. E. I. Vol. XV p. 78.
2. Ref. Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. (Aligarh Session), p. 90 for consolidated references. The exact meaning and significance of this term is not yet determined. It has been translated as "trying magistrate" (Prinsep), "the great leader of the forces" (Fleet), "Prefect of Police" (Auriel Stein), "Commissioner of Police" (R. S. Pandit), and sometimes left untranslated (Nāgārjunikuṇḍ inscriptions). It appears that he enjoyed a fairly high status, and was different from the set of officers mentioned above. He was distinct from the *Senāpati* (E. I. Vol. XV p. 283), but was, at the same time, connected with the army (E.I. Vol. VI p. 92 ; C.I.I. Vol. III p. 10). His assistance was sought even in civil administration (I.A. Vol. V p. 49). Such a title was hereditary (E.I. Vol. VI p. 92 ; C.I.I. Vol. III p. 10), and kings sometimes gave their daughters in marriage to *mahādaṇḍanāyakas* (E.I. Vol. XX pp. 1 ff.). It appears that *daṇḍanāyakas* were feudatory chiefs.
3. E. I. Vol. X p. 85 ; ibid., Vol. XXIII p. 17, 152 ff.
4. *Mahabhārata*. VII 189, *Harivaṁśa* 15841.
5. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 55 f.

also mentioned in the *Pañcatantra*[1] and the *Mudrārākṣasa*.[2] He is supposed to hold a noose to catch offenders, like a policeman. Both the terms—*daṇḍapāśika* and *daṇḍoddharaṇika* (probably *Cauroddharaṇika*) are mentioned along with a number of other officials, in the Belava[3] Copper Plate of Bhojavarmadeva (written in the Northern characters) which are translated as 'Executioner or Police officer,' and 'police officer who has to deal with thieves' respectively. The second one seems to be the investigating officer while the first one actually executed the sentence.

Maryādādhurya and Koṭṭapāla. The former literally means 'the foremost or the head of the boundary'. This term is noticed only in the Gwalior[4] inscription which mentions Vaillabhaṭṭa as the chief of the boundaries "*maryādā dhurya*" in the service of king Rāmabhadra. He was succeeded in office by his son Alla who was appointed to the guardianship of Gopādri by Śrīmad Ādivāraha. In the second inscription Alla is directly called 'the guardian of the fort' (*Koṭṭapāla*) of Gopagiri. The appointment of a son in place of his father involves some broad principle of recruitment to which we would refer later on. The guardianship of the fort (*Koṭṭapāla*) of Gwalior seems to be a military post with strategic importance.

Vyavahārin. The Barah[5] inscription refers to the *Vyavahārin* who was supposed to carry into effect the stipulations involved in the grant. In the time of Rāmabhadra the grant was disturbed due to the incapacity of this controlling authority, but it was revived later on. He might have been a legal officer entrusted with the task of carrying out the terms of the deed.

Bhogika. The Haḍḍala[6] inscription mentions a number of administrative officers including *bhogika* which, according to the Lexicons, means 'the chief of a village'. The term is noticed in several records. In inscriptions of the Sailodbhava, the Parivrājaka and Ucchakalpa kings, the term *bhogika* is used as a technical official connected, according to Fleet,[7] with a territorial division called *bhoga*. His duties included writing or engraving of royal charter. The office seems to be hereditary, as noticed in several records.[8]

Dūtaka. Popularly known as the messenger or ambassador, this official was entrusted with the conveyance of the grant, and is mentioned in several records.[9] He seems to be different from the scribe mentioned separately. The Deogarh inscription refers to the Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa as the dūtaka. The association of such a high personality with such an insignificant office calls for attention. It is not the only case in which an heir apparent is charged with the conveyance of the grant. There are records of other families, like the Legnatal (Kathmandu, Nepal) fragmentary[10] inscription of G.

1. 129. 1. 3.; 130. 8. 18.
2. 1. 22.
3. E. I. Vol. XII p. 67 ff.
4. Op. cit.
5. Op. cit.
6. I. A. Vol. XII p. 193 ff.
7. C.I.I. Vol. III p. 100 n. 2.
8. Bhandarkar's list Nos. 1194, 1195, 1285 etc.
9. E.I. Vol. V p. 211, Vol. XIX P. 19 ff.
10. C.I.I. Vol. III p. 97 f.

E. 535 mentioning Rājaputra Vikramasena as the *dūtaka*, and the Khalimpur[1] inscription refers to the Yuvarāja Tribhuvanapāla fulfilling the same obligation. As regards his duties, Fleet remarks that "the dūtaka's office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it was then to have the charter drawn upon and delivered."[2] He had nothing to do with the working of the legal documents which was the work of the *Karṇika*.[3]

Local Administration. The inscriptions furnish interesting information regarding the local administration, both rural and urban. The Haddala[4] inscription mentions a number of village officials—*grāmapati* (the lord of the village), *mahattara* (the headman), *kuṭumbika* and *madhyaga*. The Kara inscription mentions *mahanta* (headman), while the Rajor inscription refers to the village advisory body consisting of *grāmagamika*, *mahattara* and *mahattama*. Some of these terms might be synonymous but a few others have different meanings. The *grāmapati* and the *mahattara* may be distinguished here. The former corresponds to *grāmika* of the earlier records[5]. This headman of the village was a state employee while the position of the *mahattara* was different. According to the Lexicons, this term means "the head or oldest man of the village". It occurs in several records and it was suggested by Pargiter[6], that "*mahattaras* were men of position in the village, the leading men". Some of them were noted for their ability and age, while others were conspicuous by their wealth. This explanation would imply that they were non-officials working in a purely advisory capacity because of their age and status. The *mahattama* of the Rajor inscription might correspond to the *mahāmahattama* of the Khalimpur inscription of Dharampāladeva. These two grades of village elders co-operated with the *grāmagamika*, or the village headman in the management of rural affairs. The two other terms *kuṭumbika* and *madhyaga* meaning "householder", and middleman respectively have hardly any significance. Another term *pañcakulika*[7] occurring in the same record is translated by Bühler as the "scribe" corresponding to the Kāyastha.

Town Administration. The city administration was carried on in the same manner. The inscriptions mention a local body called by different names : *uttarasabhā* (Ahar Nos. 3, 8) *goṣṭhī* (No. 5), *pañcakula* (Siyadoni) and a board of *sauviyaka* (Gwalior No. 1). The Siyadoni inscription mentions this term five times with the same formula—*Bhujyamāne=tatpād=ādhiṣṭhit=ādipañcakula*—suggesting that the five members of the assembly were appointed by the provincial head, and they had their deliberations in the town hall called *maṇḍapikā* (11. 6, 9, 29, 30, 35). The *uttarasabhā* of the Ahar inscription—same as the *goṣṭhī* in that record-ensured the proper utilisation of the rent derived from the endowed property in terms of the endowment stipulations. It was, thus, a committee for the management of religious endowments, very probably, with the official status assigned to it. The Gwalior inscription (No. 2) of Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin mentions that the Śreṣṭhi Vavviyaka and the caravan trader Ichuvāka and other members

1. E.I. Vol. pp. 277 ff.
2. C.I.I. Vol. III p. 100 n. 3.
3. Ref. Siyadoni. Ins. L. 4.
4. Op. cit.
5. E.I. Vol. I p. 387 No. 11.
6. I. A. 1910 p. 213.
7. E. I. Vol. XV p. 131 & 6.

of the Board of the sauviyakas were administering the city. The association of the *śreṣṭhi* and the *sārthavāha* in the city administration dates back to the Gupta times, as we notice in the Damodarpur inscription. The first record of the consolidated Ahar inscription, dated in the year 258 H.E. (864-865 A.D.) during the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhojadeva, records the purchase of the shops for the goddess Śrī Kanaka or Kañcanā Śrīdevī. It also mentions that, in pursuance of the system of the time, a certain *dūtaka* by the name of Āmarāditya, the police officer (*daṇḍapāśika*)[1] of the locality along with the Cāturvedin Brāhmaṇa (constituting the *sabhā* of Tattānandapura) sanctioned the same, and permitted it to be recorded and engraved. The *sabhā* sanctioning the grant probably consisted of both official and non-official elements. The third document in the series mentions the messenger (*dūtaka*) Kavilaka who carried on the orders for the drawing up of the document. There is no reference to the *daṇḍapāśika*.

Registration of documents. Certain stipulations and formalities regarding the registration of documents are also noticed in these grants. The disposal of a property involved fresh registration. We notice in the Ahar inscription (No. 3) that the original endowment to the goddess was made in the V.E. 943 (806 A.D.) but was actually registered as late as the year H.E. 298 (904-905 A.D.) in the month of Caitra. Later on, the inheritors sold it to Drava and a fresh occasion arose for registration. It was executed in the same year, i.e. 298 H.E. in the month of Jyeṣṭha. The lease was for a period of 99 years.

Principles of recruitment. Administrative posts, like those of the feudatories, were hereditary. The Gwalior inscription mentions Alla succeeding his father in office as chief of the boundary (*maryādā dhurya*). The inscription refers to Alla "bearing the burden (of his father's office) not because he was desirous of worldly (power) but because "he could not bear to hear it said, that a son had never been up to his father's affairs" (No. 1 line 11). The principle of hereditary appointment might not have been universally followed, but it was in application to a great extent. It ensured allegiance on the part of the employee and a guarantee of the job by the employer.

Fiscal administration. It is interesting to note the sources of state income. As the village unit formed the backbone of the state economy, the receipts from villages formed an important item of revenue. The Rajor inscription mentions items of income which were set apart for defraying the expenses connected with the upkeep of the temple of Lacchukeśvara. These included the *bhoga* and *mayuta* income with all customary and non-customary, fixed and temporary receipts, the shares of all sorts of grain (*samasta-śasyānam bhāga*), the alm of threshing floor[2] (*khala-bhikṣā*), *prasthaka*, *skandhaka*, *mārgaṇaka*, the fines of ten offences (*sadaśāparādha daṇḍa*—same as *sadaṇḍa daśāparādha*)[3], besides gifts, (*dāna*) treasures (*nidhi*) and deposits, the *aputrikādhana* and *naṣṭibhrāta*—probably suggesting property going by escheat to the state. Certain other taxes or tolls could be levied by the state nominee. The same inscription refers to the levy of a tax of three *viṁśopakas*,[4] as customary in the market on every sack (of agri-

1. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 53 ff.
2. E.I. Vol. II p. 79; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 114.
3. J. B.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII p. 253 & 2.
4. E.I. Vol. II p. 240.

cultural produce) brought for sale, a tax of two *palikas*[1] from every *ghaṭakūpaka* of clarified butter and oil, two *viṁśopakas* per mensem from every shop, and fifty leaves from every Collika. The additional taxes levied by Mathandeva, the provincial chief, for the maintenance of the temple seems to be in conformity with the state's authority to levy market tolls and taxes. Sometimes the merchants themselves took the initiative, as we find in the Pehoa inscription. They agreed to a levy of two *dharmas* on the dealer and one *dharma* on the buyer (the amount of *dharma* is not mentioned, it being determined by custom), and the management was entrusted to the *goṣṭhī* or Committee consisting of most respectable inhabitants of the place.

We have tried to visualise the Gurjara-Pratihāra administrative machinery by piecing together the information relating to the terms mentioned in the records of that period. It was no small an achievement on the part of these rulers to keep a firm hold on an empire which, at one time, extended from the borders of Bengal to Kathiawar. If the Gurjara-Pratihāras succeeded in retaining their hold over Northern India, despite turmoils and disturbances caused by the Musalman incursions from the west with their ally the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south, and the occasional pin-pricks from the Pālas, it was due to the combined efforts of the feudatories, the provincial chiefs and the personality of the rulers. The administrative system appears to be sound, solid and strong.

1. Cf. E. I. Vol. I p. 166.

PART II

CULTURAL HISTORY

Chapter VII

SOCIAL LIFE

The social life in the Gurjara-Pratihāra period was marked with a strange phenomenon, unique in the socio-religious structure. It was the outcome of the frequent Arab invasions which had created a stir in the Hindu society. The conquest and occupation of some of the frontier districts gave the Musalmans an impetus to push their arms further into the interior, and satisfy their missionary zeal by converting Indians to Islam. This tide had threatened the social structure, and its ranks started thinning consequent to the carrying away of Hindu men and women as slaves by these marauders. The Hindu society was on its trial. It had to take preventive measures to safeguard the interest of its members, and had to widen its circle with a view to reclaiming back those, who were forcibly converted to Islam, by prescribing purificatory rites for them. The rigidity of the Caste system on the one hand, and the reclaiming of those lost to Islam on the other hand had to go on side by side, as both the phenomena were important for preserving the existing social order. This era of awakening does not seem to have carved an entirely new pattern of life, but it did have some influence on the outlook of the people in general. Did it result in moral degeneration, superstition, religious disunion and the rigidity of the caste, or did a high moral tone pervade the society of that period, is a question which we propose considering at length ? We also propose discussing certain other social problems particular to this period.

Reclamation of the Hindus: The problem of taking back Hindus who were forcibly converted to Islam was new to this period, and the earlier Smritikāras had made no provision for it. The era of assimilating foreigners into the Hindu fold seems to have ended. The Musalmans with their iconoclastic zeal were far less prepared to subscribe to the Hindu ideals ; and, in fact, the main purpose of their invasions was the expansion of Islam through sword. Any King of India standing in their way was considered a foe, and the King of Jurz (Gurjara) was one of them.[1] In this struggle—political and ideological—both the sides seem to have been well prepared. If the Musalmans could not establish themselves firmly in India for well nearly five hundred years, it was due to the political stability, as well as to the changed social outlook which reclaimed those who were lost to the alien faith. The Arab Chroniclers have accepted this fact, and it is recorded in the *Devala Smriti* as well. Utbī speaks of Nawāsā Shāh, formerly Sewakpāl or Sukhpāl, one of the relations of Jaipal, who had been forcibly converted to Islam and had been established as a governor over some of the territories conquered by the Sultan Mahmud, 'again apostatizing towards the pit of plural worship,

1. Elliot and Dowson: Op. cit. vol. I, p. 4.

had thrown off the slough of Islam, and held conversation with the chiefs of idolatory respecting the casting off the firm rope of religion from his neck."[1] The *Devala Smriti*[2] opens with a question by the sages put to Devala who was sitting on the banks of the Sindhu at ease as to how brāhmaṇas and members of other varṇas, when carried off by Mlecchas, were to be purified and restored to caste. (*Sindhutīre sukhāsīnam Devalam munisattamam. Sametya munayaḥ sarve idam vacanam=abruvan. Bhagavan Mleccha-nīta hi katham Śuddhim avāpnuyuḥ. Brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāh śūdrā=c=ānupurvaśaḥ.* The advice given by Devala constitutes the end and scope of the Smriti—a neat and tiny composition not exceeding ninety verses. In the Smriti there is a distinct reference to cases of persons whose parents had embraced the Mleccha religion, as well as to those women who had been ravished, and had also conceived. The Smriti also tabooes visits to some frontier provinces like Sindha and Sauvīra which one could do only on pain of performing *Śuddhi* on return. Purificatory rites are prescribed for persons who returned back to their country from the Mlecchadeśa.[3] The interesting information is with regard to women in general, and to those who had conceived while in the Mleccha custody in particular. Women who were ravished became pure after the period of menstruation, (*rajasvalā*), with a three days fast, but those who had conceived could be reclaimed back to their original fold after the delivery of the child. The foetus in the womb of such women, according to Devala, is like a thorn (*śalya*) in her body, and when this foreign substance is removed, and she has had her courses, she becomes pure as gold. (*Viniḥsrite tataḥ śalye rajaso vā api darśane tadā* (*tataḥ*) *sā śudhyate nāri vimalaṁ kāñcanam yathā*. (v. 51).

The confirmation of this social phenomenon is available from the accounts of the Arab historians. Bilādurī and Al-Birunī have mentioned this fact, and they suggest that attempts were made to reclaim back the Hindus who were lost to the alien faith. During the Caliphate of Hashām (A.D. 724-43) Junaid, the governor of Sind had sent expeditions into the interior of India and spread terror in Rajputana and Gujarat. His successors were Tamin and Hakim. "While Hakim was the governor, "writes Bilādurī,[4] "the people of Al-Hind apostatized and returned to idolatory excepting those of Kassa, and the Musalmans had no place of security in which they could live." The reclamation of the Hindus had become a regular feature till the time of Al-Birūnī (circa A.D. 1024). "I have been repeated told", says the Muslim historian,[5] "that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they keep them in dung, stale and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they give similar dirt to eat, and more of the like." The *Devala Smriti* mentions fasts, like those of *Cāndrāyaṇa* and *Parāka*, and *Pādakṛcchra* and the use of cow urine (*gomūtra*) and cow dung (*gomayam*).[6]

1. Ibid., vol. II, p. 33.
2. *Smṛtīnām Samuccayaḥ*—(Anandāśrāma Edition Grantha No. 48, pp. 85-89.)
3. Cf. *Pañcadaśī* (*Tripatidipa*) v. 239 'Just as a Brāhmana seized by the Mlecchas and afterwards undergoing the appropriate *prāyaścitti* does not become confounded with the Mlecchas (but returns to his original status of being a brāhmana the intelligent soul is not really to be confounded with the body and other material adjuncts' (Ref. Kane—History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 391).
4. Elliot and Dowson : Op. cit. vol. I, p. 126.
5. Translation vol. II, p. 162.
6. Op. cit. v. 65.

The two independent pieces of evidence, thus, corroborate each other, and it may very well be accepted that the Hindus in that period were alive to the consequences, if the problem of those converted to Islam under force was not handled properly. A step in the other direction banning their re-entry might have entailed worse consequences. The question now is—Did this phenomenon create divisions in Hindu society ? Was the original classification of the social structure into Brāhmāṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras maintained, or was it further divided? On this point we may consider the evidence furnished by the inscriptions of this period, and the Arab historians.

Division of Society : The division of society into four or more classes is noticed in some inscriptions and in the work of Ibn Khurdādba. The Una inscription[1] refers to Brāhmāṇas, *mahattaras* and merchants, while the Rajor inscription[2] mentions *mahattaras*, *mahattamas*, merchants and *pravaṇis* along with other inhabitants of the village of Vyāghrapaṭaka. The *mahattaras* and *mahattamas* were elders. The Ghaṭiyāla Inscription[3] of Kakkuka (No. II) refers to this favourite son of Kakka of the Pratihāra race, constructing a market place decorated with variegated streets, and going to the houses of Brāhmāṇas, (*vipra*), *Vaiśyas*, and *Prakṛiti* (translated by Bhandarkar as Kṣatriyas, and corresponding to *Payai* in verse 20 of the Mātā-ki-sal inscription). They were all promised means of livelihood.

Ibn Khurdādba's classification is[4] more elaborate. He mentions seven classes of

1. E.I., vol. IX, p. 6.
2. I. A. vol. XIX, p. 22.
3. E. I. vol. IX, p. 280.
4. Elliot and Dowson : cit. vol. I, pp.16-17 ; The classification of Hindu society into seven groups is also mentioned by Al-Idrīsī (born towards the end of the eleventh century A.D.) in his *Nuzhatu-l Mushtāk.* (Elliot and Dowson : Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 74-93), and Marvazi in his *Sharāf Al-Zamān Tabīr*, (circa A.D. 1120) (edited with an English translation by U. Minorsky, London 1942). Al-Idrīsī mentions the functions associated with these castes with some additional details. The Brāhmanas are grouped as a religious class dressing in the skins of tigers and other animals, and worshipping idols. The Ksatriya class may drink as much as three *ratls* (one pound Troy-Editor) of wine and not more. One interesting fact mentioned by him is with regard to inter-caste marriages between the Brāhmanas and the Ksatriyas. He suggests that this caste may marry Brahman woman, but Brahmans cannot take their women to wife. This is exactly contrary to what Ibn Khurdādba suggests. Marvazi agrees with the latter, as he clearly points out that the Brahmans do not give (their own women) to the Kṣatriyas in marriage but marry theirs (Minorsky : Op. cit. p. 39).' Regarding the *Sudaria (Shuduriya)* the fourth class, both Al-Idrīsī and Marvazi call them agriculturists and husbandmen. The latter also points out that the Kṣatriyas marry their (women) and give them theirs, while the Brahmans marry theirs but do not give them (their own). This statement is unwarranted as no such inter-caste marriages are recorded in inscriptions. As regards the *Vaiśyas (Bayshiya*-Marvazi), *Basya* (Al-Idrīsī),- the former classes them as craftsmen and tradesmen, and the latter one calls them artisans and mechanics, unlike Ibn Khurdādba who assigns them the functions of domestic servants as well. ' It is also suggested by Marvazi that none of the enumerated castes intermarries with them. The functions of the *Sandaliya* class are domestic offices, according to Ibn Khurdādba, but Al-Idrīsī mentions them as singers, and their women noted for beauty, which is endorsed by Marvazi. The latter also points out that sometimes Brahmans become infatuated with them so as to abandon for them their religion (but otherwise) none of the castes mentioned touches them. (Op. cit. p. 39). This class evidently corresponds to Caṇḍāla of Manu (X, 12)—the offspring from a Śūdra father and a Brāhmana female, dwelling outside the village (Manu X, 51) and carrying out the corpses of persons who have no relatives (X, 55). The *Lābud*, with their men fond of amusements and games of skill, are mentioned as *Zakya* by Al-Idrisī who calls them jugglers, tumblers and players on

Hindus :—1st, *Sabkufria*, among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other six classes pay homage to the men of this class only. 2nd, *Brahma*, who totally abstain from wine and fermented liquor. 3rd, *Kataria*, who drink not more than three cups of wine; the daughters of this class could be given in marriage to the sons of the *Brahma* class, but not vice-versa. 4th, *Sudaria*, who are by profession husbandmen. The 5th, *Basuria*, are artificers and domestics. The 6th, *Sandalia*, who perform menial offices. The 7th, *Lābud*, their women are fond of adorning themselves, and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill. The information supplied by the Arab chronicler seems interesting. It mentions divisions of society on occupational basis, and also refers to the status of men of different castes and their inter-relations. The first class, *Śabkufria* (*Sabkaferya*, according to the Paris version), was that of the Kings, who were distinct from the Kṣatriyas in general who came after the Brāhmaṇas in the social gradation. The Brāhmāṇas could accept girls belonging to the *Kataria* class. Two concrete examples of this inter-caste marital relations of this period are those of the Brāhmāṇas Haricandra and Rājaśekhara marrying the Kṣatriyā ladies of noble families, Bhadrā and Avantisundarī respectively. There is no reference to any Kṣatriya marrying a Brāhmāṇa girl. The observation of this Arab historian seems to be correct on this point. It is also true that some of the Kṣatriyas were in professions usually assigned to members of the Vaiśya caste, and it suggests that castes and their assigned functions did not go together in this period. In Ibn Khurdādba's division of Hindu Society, we notice that the *Sudaria*, forming the fourth class, are assigned the profession of Vaiśyas, while the Basuria are called artificers and domestics. This is inexplicable for the Vaiśyas could never have resorted to domestics, and the Śūdras never have adopted the profession of the Vaiśyas.[1] In the inscriptions of this period there are cases of Brāhmāṇa cultivators, and Kṣatriya traders, but there is no reference to a Vaiśya serving as a domestic servant. It appears that either there is some interchange of terms, or the observations on this point have not been properly recorded. The mistake consists even in some later accounts. According to the above classification, the menial offices were performed by men of the sixth class—the *Sandalia*, which sounds akin to the *Cāṇḍāla*[2] class—the lowest of men according to Manu. The last class of *Lābud*, with their women fond of adornments and men fond of amusements and games of skill, might be that of the gipsy tribes.

From the above account it appears that caste system did persist. Certain inscriptions of this period mention the castes of the donors and also their professions. The Gwalior inscription (No. I) mentions Memmaka, son of the Kṣatriya Devavarman cultivating a field to the north of the one cultivated by Dallaka. This inscription also refers to the trader Icchuvāka (L. 2), and the oil miller Jayaśakti (L. 13) who, judging from their names, as supposed by Hultzsch[3], appear to be of the Kṣatriya caste. The Ahar

various instruments, but Marvazi calls the last class, *Dubbiya* (*Domba*) who have a dark complexion and are performers and musicians. People treat them as cāṇḍālas, but the latter do not mix or inter-marry with them.

1. According to Manu, the occupation of the higher castes could never be adopted by the lower castes (X, 95-96).
2. Cf. Manu X, 12.
3. E. I. vol. I, pp. 159 ff.

inscription[1] (No. 6) mentions a Kṣatriya merchant Sāhāka, son of Icchuka. The Rajor inscription[2] notices land cultivated by the Gurjaras.

There were further sub-divisions of castes based, for instance, on geographical factors and academic attainments. The Bhaṭṭas and the Cāturvaidya—modern Caturvedi or Chaubey were common sub-castes amongst the Brāhmāṇas. The Cāturvaidyas were supposed to be acquainted with all the Vedas (Ahar No. 1). The *gotras* and *śākhas* of the Brāhmānas are also mentioned,[3] but that is not so in the case of the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas. They were also divided into many sub-divisions, probably based on their occupations. We have already cited instances of Kṣatriya cultivators, Kṣatriya traders, oil millers and merchants. The Pehoa inscription[4] refers to *ṭhākuras*, a kṣatriya group, and the Mātā-ki-sal inscription[5] uses the term *Prakṛiti*. The Vaiśyas had separate groups. One Ahar record mentions the donors Bhadrapākṣa, son of Amśuvāka of the Vaṇik-Varkkaṭa caste who had migrated from Bhillamala, and Māumka, son of Gośuka of the Lamba Kañcuka-vaṇik caste (no. 2). Another inscription from Ahar refers to the merchant Mādhava, son of Devanāga who belonged to the Māthura caste, and was a seller of perfumes (*gandhika māthura-jātiya-vaṇik*) (no.10).

Another social feature of the time was the freedom of the people in migrating from one place to another. These people have uniformly mentioned their places of origin. Thus, Nāgabhaṭa of the Gwalior inscription[6] had emigrated from Ānandapura in the Lāṭamandala, and Bhadrapākṣa from Bhillamāla (ibid.), and Acyuta of the undated Pehoa record[7] was a native of Kamboja, while Nāgarabhaṭa was the chief Bhaṭa of the town of Kanauj. These stray cases suggest that group mentality was common. The emigration of persons and their families from distant places, if made on a big scale, is likely to create the problem of their re-settlement or rehabilitation. It is likely that there might have been some exodus[8] of people at the time of Arab invasions, but evidence on this point is blank. These isolated cases, as they appear to be, might have passed unnoticed without creating much stir in the local population. The foreigners who had come much earlier were being gradually assimilated. The Hūnas were entering into matrimonial relations with the Kṣatriya ruling families, but, as suggested earlier, the inscriptions mention only their girls being accepted, there being no reference to kṣatriya noble girls being offered to them.

1. E. I. vol. XIX, p.
2. E. I. vol. III, p. 266.
3. Ref. Barah (E.I. vol. XIX, pp. 17 ff.), Daulatpur (E.I. Vol. V, pp. 221 ff); Ahar No. IX (E.I. Vol. XIX, pp. 55-6); Dighwa-Dubauli (I.A. vol. XV, pp. 112ff) and Jhusi Inscription (I.A. Vol. XVIII, pp. 34) mentioning amongst the donees Brāhmans belonging to the Pratiṣṭhāna of various *gotras*, various *Pravaras* and followers of various Vedic schools.
4. E.I. vol. I, pp. 186 ff.
5. Op. cit.
6. Op. cit.
7. E.I. vol. I, pp. 242 ff.
8. It is suggested that 18,000 people had migrated from Bhimal to Ānandapura (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I appendix 737). If we accept the correctness of this statement, we have to presume that some unusual event was responsible for it, which could be nothing else than the attack of the Arabs,

On the whole, the social tendency in this period seems to be towards rigidity and isolationism. On the one hand the society had to make room for the reclaimed Hindus, and on the other hand caste sub-divisions were gradually increasing. In his gloss on Manu VIII, 221, which relates to the King prescribing punishment for the breakers of compacts relating to village and caste federations, Medātithi defines such federations as those of various castes, or of men belonging to the same caste. This group mentality which was stiffening aimed at isolationism, and preservation of the integrity of the castes in the face of so many factors—social and political. It was stretched further due to members of the same caste following different avocations. This upheaval in the social order had some effect on the life of the people in general in several ways which we shall now consider with particular reference to their dress, ornaments, position of women and other items of social interest.

Family Life and Position of Women : The group consciousness of the people made the family ties closer. It was important that all the members of a family should be associated in any enterprise, even though it be some religious endowment,[1] so that the fruits accrued could be shared individually. Document (No. VII) of the consolidated Ahar record refers to the purchase of an *āvarī* by the Sauvarṇika Mahājana with the money belonging to the Kanakaśrīdevī from Bhaṭṭadivākara, the son of Bhaṭṭa Tārāgaṇa; Acyutaśiva and Damodaraśiva, the sons of Śaiva Bhaṭṭadiyaka; and Ānandabhaṭṭaśiva, the son of Acyutaśiva, all of whom resided in Taṭṭanandapura, with the consent of the mother Bhaṭṭinī Mahādevī. This old lady seems to have wielded considerable influence, and it appears that she was the mother of Bhaṭṭa Tārāgaṇa, and Bhaṭṭa Dīyaka, and great-grandmother of Ānadabhaṭṭaśiva, the youngest in the family. It is difficult to knit together ties extending over four generations, unless there is some social force behind it. Another document (No. VIII) records that the kṣatriyas Kakka and Padmanābha, the sons of Madhusūdana, and also Lacchikā, the wife of Devanāga, and Sampatī, the wife of Mādhava made over the entire rent by a deed of 99 years to the goddess Kanakaśrīdevī in consideration of the payment out of the funds of the said temple by the Sauvarṇika Mahājana. The two widows and the two brothers could hardly have any interest in a particular house save as units of the joint family. Despite the move to bind all the members into one group, sometimes the ties were loose, and partition of the family property was the result. Inscription No. X from Ahar refers to Bhaṭṭakeśava, to whom the property had descended from his father and grand father after being duty partitioned with his uncle, grand-father and brothers. On the whole, there was that consciousness of the entire family as a unit which persisted.

We have already cited the case of the old lady Bhattinī Mahādevī, but the ladies as a class seem to have enjoyed a position of responsibility and influence at home. Marriages were mostly in the same caste, and monogamy was practised, as we find

1. In the document No. IV of the Ahar inscriptions, the donors Mādhava, son of Nāga; his younger brother Madhusūdana; Keśava, the son of Govinda who was the son of Sarvāsa; and Devanāga, son of Sarvāsa, agreed to bind themselves and their descendants, on the thirteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of *Pauṣa* V. S. 943 (expired), after bathing in the Ganges, to make a monthly payment of ten Viṁśopakas to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdevi; and, as a surety for this payment, they assigned the house acquired by their grandfather Mangalavarman. This endowment was made for the increase of their parents and their own religious merit and fame.

references to *savarṇa* marriage,[1] and *ekapatinīvrata*,[2] and inter-caste marriages could be counted at finger tips. Polygamy depended on the status of the person. The Gwalior inscription[3] mentions Alla having five wives—Vauvā, daughter of Kanhuka; Goggā, daughter of Bhaṭṭa; Gaurī, daughter of Mahādeva; Sillā, daughter of Govardhana, and Isalā, daughter of Naunaka. The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*[4] mentions Cārāyaṇa contacting a second marriage, and we also notice this fact in the *Karpūramañjarī*. The presence of co-wives did not alienate their affection for the husband; and two contemporary records refer to *satīs*. One inscription,[5] dated in the V.S. 898 from Dholpur (Rajputana) of the Cāhamāna Caṇḍamahāsena, mentions his mother Kanhullā who became *satī* along with her husband Mahīśarman, and a Kalacurī inscription[6] refers to Gāṅgadeva obtaining salvation with his hundred wives at the foot of fig tree at Prayāga. Husbands were equally fond of their wives, and Rājaśekhara refers to uxorious husbands (*bhāryājita*).[7]

A point worth attention is with regard to the position of ladies in general in that period. Did they enjoy freedom of movement, or was it restricted due to troubled conditions, occasioned by the Arab incursions ? The dramas of Rājaśekhara give an insight into the life in the regal seraglio, but there is little evidence to suggest that they were confined to the four corners of the house—as a result of the Musalman invasion. It is probable that they ceased to enjoy freedom of movement, but there is nothing to show that they were denied opportunities of using their talents. There are references to talented ladies—Avantisundarī, wife of the poet Rājaśekhara, being one of them. The poet refers[8] to ladies dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments, while some were very good painters whose work could be distinguished from that of men by Connoisseurs alone.[9] He also refers to the heroines of his dramas *Karpūramañjarī*[10] and *Viddhaśālabhañjika*[11] composing poems, a fact also hinted at in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.[12] According to Sulaimān[13], most of the princes of India, when they held a court, allowed their women to be seen by men who attended, whether they be natives or Foreigners. No veil concealed them in the eye of the visitors. Ordinary women folk were also a happy class conscious of their marital obligations and responsibilities, but equally interested in their pleasures and pastime. This is evinced from Rājaśekhara's reference to singing wives of herdsmen (*gaanta-goavahu*—skt *gāyanta gopavadhu*)[14]. The Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription refers to a band of women that lived on arms—(*strainen—astir-aika-vrittinā*. v. 22)[15]. Describing the deeds of Bhoja, the poet suggests that "he, like

1. E.I. vol. I, p. 124.
2. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* p. 54.
3. Op. cit.
4. II, 52.
5. Z. D. M. G. vol. XL, pp. 39ff.
6. E. I. vol. XII, pp. 210ff.
7. *Karpuramañjarī*, III, 2.
8. *Karpur* III, 14.
9. *Viddh.* I, 35.
10. III, 34.
11. p. 109-110.
12. p. 53.
13. Elliot and Dowson : Op. cit. vol. I, p. 11.
14. *Karpur* I, 21.
15. Op. cit. v. 22.

Kumāra (Kārttikeya) with his hosts of Mātrikās who performed wonderful deeds, subdued the terrible Asuras with the help of a band of women that lived upon arms." This figurative expression does convey some sense—and it is quite probable that in those troubled times a band of Indian amazons contributed their share in repelling the invaders.

Dress and Ornaments : The chivalrous trait, if any, had not blemished feminine grace and charming features of the ladies in that period. In the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*,[1] Rājaśekhara describes the *nepathya*-costume or attire of ladies in the east, north, west and south in accordance with natural surroundings, customs and manners (*pravritti*, *rīti* and *vritti*) of the people. Anointing their breast with sandal paste (*ārdrādra candanakuca*), adorned with garlands, the *sārī* touching the parting line, hands open and the upper part of the arm bent and besmeared with aloe fragrance, the Gauda ladies appeared beautiful for a long time. The ladies of Pāñcāla, with the ear rings shaking on the temple, and the necklace touching the nave, covered themselves with cloth from hips downwards. Those of Kerala tied the mass of their hair upwards with a sīndūra mark on their foreheads, the loose locks of hair dropping, and the end of the lower garment, after being wrapped round the body, was carried behind and tucked into a waist band. The gentlemen of Avanti dressed themselves like those of Pāñcāla (*Pāñcāla nepathya vidhi narāṇām*), while the ladies followed their southern counterparts (*strīnām punar nandatu dakṣiṇātyaḥ*). Rājaśekhara is not very specific as regards the full dress of the people, but in his dramas he refers to three items. The dress of the ladies included a mantle (*dukūla*)[2], a bodice (*cōlaka*)[3] sometimes blue in colour (*nīlacolaka*)[4], also called *kañculikā*[5] in the *Karpūramañjarī*, and the skirt known as *nīvī*[6]. Silk was in common use, and the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* refers to China's silk (*cīnāṁśuka*)[7]. The bathing garment was called *snānavastra*[8]. As regards men's dress, the loin cloth was universally used. The poet refers to an over garment called *ottarīyam*[9]. The fineness of texture is also noticed by Sulaiman[10] who mentions that a dress made of fine silk could be passed through a signet ring. Clothes were also dyed and a red garment (*rattāṁsuam*—skt. *raktāṁśukam*)[11] was used on marriage and festive occasions. Blue silk (*nīlam paṭāśukam*)[12] was relished. The fashionable ladies were particular in arranging the border of the dress in an attractive manner.[13]

Rājaśekhara rightly suggests[14] that even unattractive ladies appear charming by embellishments, but those with natural grace look more beautiful with ornaments and

1. *Kāv* : p. 8.
2. *Viddh.* I, 18.
3. Ibid., I, 34.
4. Ibid., I, 34.
5. *Karpur.* I, 24.
6. *Viddh.* I, 34.
7. Ibid., III, p. 101.
8. *Karpur* II, 24.
9. *Karpur* I, p. 32.
10. Elliot and Dowson : Op. cit. vol. I, p. 5.
11. *Viddh.* II. 53.
12. *Karpur* II, 14.
13. Ibid., I, 27.
14. Ibid., I, 51 ; II, 15.

the use of cosmetics. The poet mentions different types of ornaments which hardly left any part of the body unadorned. These include ear decorations *kuṇḍala*[1] and *taṭāṅka*[2], the former being studded with jewels (*raana kuṇḍala* skt *rakta kuṇḍala*)[3], the necklace of monster pearls on the neck (*chammasio mottiāna varahāro—ṣanamāsika mauktikānām varahāraḥ*)[4]. bracelets (*kaṅkaṇa*[5]—also called *valaya*—and used by both men and women), girdle bejewelled with rubies (*pañcaraamaṇi kāñci*[6]—*pañcarāgamaṇi kāñci*) with its ringing bells, and the tinkling jewelled anklets (*rananta-mani-neuram* skt *ranan-maṇi-nūpuram*)[7]. The sound produced by other ornaments could, in poet's words, bewilder anybody's heart. The description given by Rājaśekhara might sound poetic, nevertheless it gives an idea of the ornamental taste of the ladies in that period.

The poet also refers to the use of cosmetics in particular seasons. The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* mentions ambrosial unguent of the eyes (*nayanamrita vriṣti*)[8]. Collyrium purified with oil (*taila mūrjitakajjala*)[9] was applied with a small pencil called *kajjalaśalākā*.[10] Camphor powder was rubbed over the bosom, and a thick sandal paste was used for anointing. Wax on the lips (*vimboṭṭhe bahalam—vimboṣṭhe vahalam*)[11] was not used in spring, nor was fragrant oil (*gaṁdhātella*—skt *gandha taila*) needed in arranging braids.[12] There was also an indifference towards the use of thick saffron (*vattamti dhillaara*—skt *varatante śithilādarā*)[13]. It is strange to find ladies not cleaning their teeth when it was frost cold. The poet refers to Marāṭhā girls rubbing their cheeks with saffron paste.[14] The hair arrangement was not uniform in all the Janapadas. The ladies of Kerala tied their hair at the top from the roots (*āmulata valita Kuntala cārucūḍā*)[15], while at another place he refers to the wreaths of the curly locks fringing the crescent of the forehead.

From this account of dress, ornaments and hair arrangements one gets the impression that the ladies in different parts of India were following their own customs and traditions. Differences in taste and outlook of the people seem to have created a big gulf between the north and the south. Western India with its dress and culture was trying to bridge up this gap, as we find men of this part following the pattern of the people of Pāñcāla, and ladies adopted that of Kerala. We have cited cases of persons coming from western India—to the northern or central India, but we do not come across any southerner settling down in the north. It was because of *nepathyariti* and *pravṛitti* which were entirely different. We are not taking into consideration the matrimonial relations established between the northern and southern ruling families.

1. Ibid., III, 26.
2. *Kāv.* p. 16.
3. *Karpur* II, 18.
4. Ibid., II, 17.
5. Ibid., III, 26 ; II, 32.
6. Ibid., II, 15.
7. Ibid., II, 13.
8. I, p. 38.
9. Ibid.,
10. *Karpur* I, 21.
11. Ibid., I, 13.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., I, 14.
14. Ibid., I, 16.
15. *Kāv.* p. 19.

Pastime and Recreations: People in all stages of life, and in different periods, feel the need of relaxation. Rājaśekhara furnishes fuller information on different types of recreations—dancing, music, swimming, festivals, dicing, *vinodas* and *rūpakas* or pantomime. We also learn from the accounts of the Arab historians that the Lāhuds were a special class of entertainers, who were found of amusements, and Kanauj was the centre for jugglers displaying their art.[1] The entertainment class was fairly important in the social order, as we find Rājaśekhara[2] assigning a place to this class at the southern side in the Assembly which was to be convened for the purpose of poets' gathering. Those invited to attend in this group were female dancers (*gaṇikā*), rope dancers (*plavaka*), showmen (*śaubhika*), magicians (*jambhaka*), wrestlers (*malla*) and those depending on arms (*śastropajīvin*). This suggests that art was appreciated for art's sake, and nothing was looked down upon. The entertainers enjoyed a position, and some of them could not escape the attention of foreign travellers. Besides these public shows, entertainments and recreations at home were also available. Rājaśekhara refers to kings playing dice (*pāśaka*) with their queens[3] and enjoying the pleasing air of the swing with its rise and fall. There are also references to musical instruments—flute (*vaṁśī*), drum (*mridaṅga*), and timbrels (*kāṁśatāla*). There is no trace of foreign influence on Indian music or dramatic performances, which was due to the fact that the Indians and the Arabs were at distance in their outlooks looking upon each other with suspicion and hatred, and there was no room for closer contact in the social sphere.

We have not taken into consideration items of food. Incidentally Rājaśekhara mentions only a few—*śaktupāna*[4]—a drink prepared with rice flour and highly relished in the summer; *rasāla*—curd mixed with sugar and spices known as *śrīkhaṇḍa* to which the essence of mango fruit was added (*sarakara rasārcita*)[5], churned curd—*manthā*, and cooked rice mixed with water called *jalabhaktam*.[6] The paucity of evidence is no ground for assuming that people had to resort to austerity in their items of food due to troubled times. In fact the dietary of the Indians has undergone little change.

Educational conditions: The study of the educational conditions of Northern India during the period of the Gurjara-Pratihāras has to be made with the background of the account left by Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing. The picture of the educational life painted by the latter easily suggests that, after the death of Harṣa, political activity might have been at its lowest ebb, but there was hardly any vacuum felt in the intellectual sphere. Nālandā continued to attract students from the far east. A recent study made of the number of Chinese pilgrims to India, shows that out of a total of 187, 31 came in the 8th century A.D., but there is no reference to further arrivals. It does not mean that Nālandā ceased to be a Buddhist Centre of learning. It is probable that the predominance of Brahmanism over Buddhism in this period had left its mark in the curricular of studies in the Buddhist centres of learning with Sanskrit occupying a prominent place. The relation of this academic centre with the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers may be suggested from the find of a solitary record of Mahendrapāla at Nālandā.[7]

1. Elliot and Dowson : Op. cit. p. 10.
2. *Kāv.* p. 50.
3. *Viddh.* I, 32.
4. *Kāv.* p. 106, 1.24.
5. Ibid., p. 107, 1.25.
6. Ibid., 1.26.
7. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1924-25, p. 36.

but details are wanting. In the light of the patronage enjoyed by literary celebrities like Rājaśekhara, and, very probably, Kṣemīśvara at the Pratihāra court, and the reference to literary assemblies in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, it is reasonable to presume that this centre flourished without much trouble. The evidence furnished by Rājaśekhara and some of the inscriptions of this period is not full. The poet is concerned only with the *Kāvya-vidyāsnātaka* or 'a poet apprentice'; his subjects of studies, method of reading, examination and requirements are some of the topics noticed by him. Here the poet refers to different forms of reading in India, and also to grades of students. We shall confine our discussion only to those topics noticed by the poet.

Rājaśekhara mentions[1] three qualities of students:—*buddhimān*—who is intelligent and hears but once, and *āhāryabuddhi*—a mediocre who acquires by practice, while a *durbuddhi* is one who is devoid of poetic skill either by birth or training. The pupil at that time was expected to study Śāstras and be well accomplished before he could start composing poetry. These include *apauruṣeya*—not composed by men, as for example—the Vedas in order—*Rig, Yajur, Sāma* and *Atharva*, the four Upavedas—*Itihāsa, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda, Āyurveda*, and *Geyaveda*—included by Rājaśekhara in this category; the six Vedāṅgas:—*Śikṣā*—dealing with articulation and pronunciation of Vedic texts, *Kalpa*—pointing to *mantras* in different *śākhās* of Veda, *Vyākaraṇa*—explanation of words close to the text, *Nirukta*,—Etymology, *Chanda*—poetics, and *Alaṁkāra*—embellishments. The *Pauruṣeya*, written by the people are—*Purāṇas*, collection of Vedic *Ākhyānas*, *Ānvīkṣiki*—logical philosophy, or metaphysics, *Mīmāṁsā*—Pūrva and Vedānta, and *Smritis*—a recapitulation of what is said in the *Śrutis*. Knowledge acquired through these fourteen *Vidyāsthānas*, pertains to all things existing in the three worlds. The poet adds four more. *Vārtā*—viz. *Vāṇijya Krisividyā*—the science of trade and agriculture, *Daṇḍanīti*, *Kāmaśāstra* and *Śilpaśāstra* and lastly *Sāhityavidyā*.

It is really impossible for any student to attain proficiency in all these subjects, but people could be accomplished, at least, in a few. The Jodhpur inscription[2] of Bāuka refers to Kakka possessing knowledge of prosody (*Chanda*), grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), logic (*Tarka*), astronomy (*Jyotiṣa*), with attendant arts (*Kalānivitam*) and poetry in all languages (*kalānivitam sarva-bhāṣā kavitāñ ca vijñātamsuvilakṣaṇam*). It appears that proficiency in grammar was necessary even for those studying other subjects, but it could be carried on independently as well. The Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga[3] mentions the poet Mādhava whose father Dadda was learned in grammar alone (*Śabdānuśāsanavida*).

Emphasis is also laid by the poet on the art of reading.[4] He suggests that mastery in the art of reading Kāvya could be obtained only by those persons who were highly cultured (*karoti kāvyam prāyena saṁskritātmā yathā tathā*, 1.1) and correct reading is not obtained in one birth, but it is the result of experience in many previous births (*pāṭha saunaryām n=aika janma vinirmatam* (1.4). Rājaśekhara also adds to our information on this topic by referring to methods employed in different parts of India.[5] Those living to

1. *Kār.* p. 7, ll.26ff.
2. E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 96, v. 25.
3. E. I. vol. I, p. 124.
4. *Kār.* p. 33, ll. 1ff.
5. Ibid., pp.33-34.

the east of Benares read Sanskrit well, but their Prākṛit was very bad. The reading of the Gauḍas was not good, as it did not conform to any rule. It was neither very clear, nor full of puns on words, and was devoid of harshness or softness, and it equally lacked pitch. The Karṇāṭas are criticised here for their special liking of the letter *ṭa*—used everywhere without paying any attention to the *Rasa* or *Rīti* or *Guṇa* in the poetry they read. The reading of the Dravidians was musical in prose, poetry or *campu*. Rājaśekhara also refers to the method employed by the people of Lāṭa, Surāṣṭra and Travaṇa. The people of Lāṭa hated Sanskrit, as they were great lovers of Prākrit. Those of Surāṣṭra and Travaṇa were lovers of the *Āpabhraṁśa* language, and, while reading Sanskrit, they adopted the same method as employed in reading their own dialect. The poets from Kaśmīra are praised for their excellence in the art of reading. It is also said that some poets living to the east side of Kaśmīra employed a nasal tone while reading. In the end, the reading of the Pāñcāla poets is characterized as the best, because their tone is well suited to different *Rītis* in poetry, and possesses all the guṇas required for poetry, and in their reading all the letters are clearly pronounced and properly punctuated.

It appears from the account given by Rājaśekhara that there was no uniform system of reading. Pāñcāla, being the centre of Sanskrit culture, excelled all. Stress was also laid on writing. The poet mentions eighteen alphabets (*aṣṭādaśālipi*)[1], and he refers to Vaidarbhī style of writing.[2] The inkpot is called *māsīpiṇḍa*[3] and he refers to letters written on Ketaka flower leaves, (*Ketakīdalalekha*)[4]. In the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Rājaśekhara mentions[5] the materials required by a poet at the time of composing poetry. These included *sampuṭikā*—a box, *saphalaka-khaṭikā*—a piece of chalk along with a wooden tablet, *samudgaka*—a round box or casket, *salekhanī-kamaṣī bhājanāni*—pen with black inkpot, leaves of palm and birch (*tāḍipattrāṇi bhūrjatvaco vā*), iron pins (*salohakaṇṭakāni*), a hand fan (*tāladalāni*). That was not enough. The real requisite, according to the Yāyāvarīya, was the poetical genius or *pratibhā*.

The last item of educational interest is the reference to assemblies and centres of learning. Rājaśekhara does refer to the convening of such assembling at Ujjayinī and Pātaliputra in former times,[6] and he further suggests that these Brahma śabhās were to be held in big cities for the purpose of examining the talents of poets (*mahānagareṣu kāvyaśāstra parikṣārtham brahmasabhā kārayet*), and the successful ones were to be honoured with a chariot and a silken turban. As Rājaśekhara himself passed through the stages of *Bālakavi*, *Kavi* and *Rājakavi*, it is reasonable to presume that such literary assemblies were common in that period. It is a pity that there is no detailed account about Nālandā, as a centre of learning, except in a contemporary record of the Pāla ruler Devapāla from Nālandā recording the grant of five villages by, and at the request of the Mahārāja Bālaputradeva, lord of Suvarṇadvīpa. There were certain other educa-

1. *Karpur* II, 51.
2. Ibid., 1, 1.
3. Ibid., II, 97.
4. *Karpur* II, 6.
5. *Kāv*, p. 50.
6. *Kāv*.

tional centres of India—one such being at Kāmpilya[1] (outskirts of Surat), and the New Copper Plate of Dhruva II of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch mentions 500 monks residing in this monastery in 804 A.D. There were many Brahmanical centres. Bhinmal was noted for astronomical studies, as pointed out by Al-Bīrūnī,[2] where the *Brahma Siddhānta* was composed. Valabhī was also one of them, as we find from the reference in the *Kathā sarita sāgara*[3], and so also was Vikramaśilā,[4] with a staff of 114 members and maintaining co-ordination with the University of Nālandā.

Despite this meagre evidence, we have noticed the educational condition in this period. Its importance was immense and well realised. Rājaśekhara refers to lugging around books at another man's house,[5] The Pratihāra kings were not only patrons of learning, but were equally gifted and well-up in different branches of studies. A point worth stressing is that the political condition of northern India after Harṣa's death did not cause any vacuum in the academic atmosphere of the times. Centres of learning continued to flourish, and the paucity of evidence is no ground for assuming their non-existence when we learn from Muslim Chronicles, that the final blow to these educational centres came from the Muslim invaders.[6]

1. E. I. vol. XXVII, p. 310 ff.
2. Sachau I, 153.
3. XXXII, 42-3.
4. Journal Buddhist Society (India) vol. I, pp. 10-12.
5. *Karpur* I, 18.
6. *Tabakāt-i-Nāsari* (Raverty) I, 652.

CHAPTER VIII

ECONOMIC LIFE

A notable feature of the economic life in Northern India during the Gurjara-Pratihāra period is the emphasis laid on guilds or corporate organizations which enjoined all members following a particular trade or avocation to subscribe to the objects of that body and undertake certain obligations. These involved payment of cess which was levied on every member of the profession working or living in a particular locality. The stipulations were generally the same everywhere. It is not certain if these guilds had an all-India organization or they were functioning locally. It, however, appears from the inscriptions that the activities of these guilds were confined only to their respective spheres. Thus, the *Śreṇi* of gardners at Gwalior could not bind members of the same profession at Kāman. Both were independent of each other, despite their identical profession. Another significant feature of the economic life in this period was the vocational mobility. Caste seems to have played little part in the determination of the profession of a person. The tendency was, however, downwards, and we notice cases of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas resorting to agriculture, but there is hardly any case of a Kṣatriya acting as a priest, or a Vaiśya in the fighting force. It is probable that only those Brāhmaṇas, took to agriculture who were in great distress, as that contingency is covered by the Smritikāras. Inter-Provincial trades, and permanent migrations of persons from one place to another was a normal feature. The inscriptions of this period furnish information on many aspects of economic life, like, Guilds, Economic Professions, artisans, agriculture, irrigational facilities, economic centres, communications, internal and external trade, medium of exchange, coinage, weights and measures, and trade stipulations. Some information is also available from Rājaśekhara's works, and we propose considering these items in the order mentioned above.

Guilds—Guilds or *Śreṇis*—implying trade organizations were not new to this period. They were in early times[1] too. The term used for this body is *Śreṇi*. The Gwalior inscription[2], dated in the year 933, records a perpetual endowment (*akṣayanivi*) with the stipulation that, in order (to provide) oil for the lamps, the chiefs of the oil millers (*tailika-mahattaka*) who dwelled in Śri-Śaraveśvarapura—their names being mentioned—and other members of the guilds of oil millers (*samasta tailika śreṇyā*) should provide one *palikā* of oil per mill (*Kolhuka*) in a particular day mentioned here. It appears from the list that all the chiefs of oil millers from different localities joined hands with a view to enforcing a uniform cess.

Another guild of gardners (*mālikāśreṇvā*) is noticed in two records—the Gwalior[3] one recording a perpetual endowment to the effect that the chiefs of gardners (*mālikā-*

1. Ref. *Ait Brāh.* III. 30.2; *Jātaka* VI. 427; *Mahāvastu.* Vol. III, p. 442, etc.
2. E.I. Vol. I, pp. 159ff; For reference to the guild of the oilmongers see No. 261 Madras Epigraphy Report, 1909.
3. Op. cit.

mahara) who dwelt on the top of Śrī Gopagiri—their names are mentioned here—and the other members of the guilds of gardners were to provide daily (for the requirement of worship) fifty garlands—*mālā*—of such market flowers as were available in that particular season. The list includes seven gardner chiefs. The Kāman stone inscription[1] also mentions this guild. It records that, in consideration of a sum of money paid in advance, the guild living at Kāmyaka stipulated to supply permanently sixty garlands, of which thirty four were to be delivered at the temple of Viṣṇu, and the remaining [twenty six] at the shrine of Cāmuṇḍā. It appears from this record that the guild could accept collective responsibility on behalf of its members for the regular supply of garlands. The term *mālākāra* has to be distinguished from the *vāṭikāpāla* of the Rajor inscription[2], the latter might be just the keeper of a garden.

The Kāman inscription also refers to two other guilds—that of potters (*kumbhakārāṇām śreṇyā*) and another of artisans (*Śreṇyā sthāpatinām*). In consideration of a sum of money received in advance, the former agreed to pay a permanent cess of one *pana* per wheel to be paid monthly by every one of its members. The members of the other guild, accordingly, agreed to pay one *drama* per month. The acceptance of money by these guilds suggests that they also functioned as bankers. It appears that the expenses were met out of the interest accumulated on the deposits. These guilds served to stimulate spiritual benefactions and pious gifts in the community, and their utility was appreciated and taken advantage of. They were functioning for a long time, and were accepting deposits, but in this period we notice a new feature. It is the acceptance of the obligation by the chiefs of the guilds, and their authority to bind members. Medhātithi refers to guild laws (*Śreṇidharmāḥ*)[3], something of the nature of certain principal traders offering to the king his royal tax fixed up verbally by declaring before him their trade, and that the tax be fixed at particular rates on their profits. If any one went against the stipulation, he was liable to be punished for the breach.

Economic Professions :—A good many economic professions are also mentioned in the inscriptions of this period. Traders, agriculturists, artisans, and a few lower ones contributed to the economic life of that period. We propose considering these avocations under five broad divisions—Traders, including those moving in caravans, (b) merchants who kept regular establishments (c) other professional classes, including the lower ones, (d) artisan class, and (e) agriculturists and husbandsmen.

(a) **Traders** :—*Vyavahāraka* is the usual term for 'a trader', and it is comprehensive enough to include all parties in any business transaction (*vyavahāra*). A merchant is, however, distinguished as 'a *Śreṣṭhin*', corresponding to modern Hindi *settia*—probably a shopkeeper. The traders noticed in the inscriptions are horse dealers (*ghoṭaka*), and caravan traders (*sārthavāha*)[4]. The Pehoa inscription[5] records the meeting of horse

1. E. I. Vol. XXIV (No. IV), p. 331.
2. E. I. Vol. III, p. 266; Hemacandra does not include *Vāṭikāpāla* as a synonym of *mālākāra*; *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 900; cf. *Jātaka*, III, 405.
3. Manu VIII, 41. Vol. II, p. 90. Medātithi defines guilds as 'companies of traders, artisans, actors and so forth'. I. 188.
4. E. I. Vol. I, p. 159, 112; The *Sārthavāha* chief is noticed in the *Mahāvastu* (*sārthavāha pramukha*), Vol. III, p. 161, and the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 16) refers to a great caravan trader (*mahasārthavāha*). The trading in company ensured safety from robbers, etc., and immunity from undue competition.
5. E.I. Vol. I, p. 187, 11.3.

dealers from different localities—Cūṭavārsika, Cikkariselavanapura, Valadevapura, Śāraukadika, Siharudokkāra, and Ghaṇighakā who voluntarily agreed to a cess of two *dharmas* for the seller, and one for the buyer, (the exact value of a *dharma* is not known), per animal—in the categories of horses, mares, mules and other animals, for temples situated at Kānyakubja, Gotīrtha, Bhojapura near Kanauj, and Prithūdaka to the east of Sarasvatī. It is interesting to note that traders could levy a cess on all commercial deals, which could be binding on the state as well, if it were a party. It was really an intelligent approach offering autonomy to businessmen in their commercial deals. The money accruing from the cess was vested according to the stipulations in different *goṣṭhis*, —endowment managing bodies.

The corporate spirit amongst traders is also noticed in the Ahar inscription[1] (No. II) which mentions an immigrant Bhadraprakāśa from Bhillamāla of the Vaṇik-Varkkata caste, and Māumka son of Gośuka, who belonged to Lambakañcuka-Vaṇik caste purchasing an *āvārī*-shop with *drammas* belonging to the illustrious Kañcanādevī, and the community of the Sauvarṇika traders together with the two persons who assigned the *āvarī* in question to the aforesaid temple. It is implied in the passage that the entire community of the *sauvarnikas* with sons, grandsons and other descendants were enjoined to respect this transaction. The *sauvarnikas* seem to be different from the *suvarnakāras* who were makers of gold ornaments while the former represented the class of bullion-dealers.

(b) **Other Professions** :—The inscriptions of this period mention a number of other professions, like distillers of spirituous liquor (*kallapāla*), friers (*kanduka*), salt dealers (*nemaka-vaṇik*), betel-sellers (*tāmbulika*), oil millers (*tailika*) and sellers of perfumes (*gāndhīka*).

Kallapāla—A Siyadoni record[2] dated in Saṁvat 969, refers to the investment of a capital of 1350 of *śrimadādivārahadrammas* by the salt merchant Nāgaka with the distillers of spirituous liquor who were to pay every month half a *vigrahatuṅgīyadramma* on every cask of liquor to Śri-Viṣṇu-Bhaṭṭāraka. The inscription also mentions the chief of the distillers of liquor (*Kallapāla-mahattaka*) who accepted the endowment and the stipulations implied in it. It appears from the wordings and the terms that this professional class was organized in some form, else its conditions would not have been acceptable to others. It is not noticed in earlier literature.

Kanduka :—[3]This word actually means 'a boiler'. Kielhorn suggests that it might be compared to the Hindi kāndu—a certain tribe occupied in frying corn, preparing sweet meats, etc., and he translates it as 'sugar boiler'. The two avocations seem to be different, and we suggest that kandukas were engaged in the frying of corns. The sweet-meat dealers formed a separate class, as we notice the terms *modakakāra* and *ukkarikāpaṇam*[4] in earlier literature.

Tāmbūlika :—The Siyadoni inscription[5] refers to *tāmvolika* or betel-sellers, and in the same record there is a reference to the chief of the betel-sellers (*tāmvolika mahara*)[6].

1. E.I. Vol. XIX, p. 59, 11.6-7.
2. E.I. Vol. I, p. 174, 11. 8-10.
3. E. I. Vol. I, p. 174, 1.10.
4. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 320.
5. E.I. Vol. I, p. 175, 1.15.
6. Ibid., 1.26.

The betel seller Keśava, son of Vateśvara gave a hereditary *vīthī* of his own in the Catur-haṭṭa to Śri-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka, set up by Caṇḍūka. This person also figures in another record mentioning an endowment stipulating the payment of a *vigraha-dramma-viśovaka* on every *pālikā* of leaves to the god (Viṣṇu) set up by Caṇḍūka who is mentioned as the chief of the betel-sellers (*tāmbūlika mahara*). This professional class was also organized and the temple set up by Caṇḍūka—the chief —became the subject of endowments by his professional brothers.

Tailikas—the oil millers had their own guilds under their chiefs (*tailika-mahattaka*) dwelling in the vicinity of Gwalior. The Siyadoni inscription[1] mentions Nāgaka giving a *palikā* of oil from every mill of the oil millers. Another endowment[2], dated in the Saṁvat 1002, records gift by Keśava, Durgāditya and other oil millers of a *palikā* of oil from every oil mill to Śri Cakrasvāmideva. We have already referred to their organization. The oil mill is called *ghrāṇaka*.

Gāndhika : The perfumer's profession is very old[3]. It is quite natural that a professional class should cater for toilet and cosmetic requisites. The Ahar inscription[4] mentions a merchant Mādhava, son of Devanāga who belonged to the Māthura caste, and was a seller of perfumes (*gāndhika māthura jātiya-vaṇik*).

The paucity of evidence does not imply absence of other professional classes relating to trade. Caravan trade, was also carried on, as we find so many references to the movements of merchants from one place to another, those gathered at Pehoa being one of them.

Artisan class :—The artisan class comprised of a number of professions, but the inscriptions mention only a few. The Kāman inscription refers to two guilds—one of architects—*sthāpati* or master builders, and the other of potters (*kumbhakāra*)[5]. The potter's guild dates back at least to the first century A.D., as we notice an investment with this guild in a record of that period from Nasik[6]. *Sthāpati* is defined by Medhātithi[7] as a *vāstuvidyājīvin*, one who lives by the science of architecture, such as an architect, mason and so forth. The Siyadoni inscritpion[8] mentions a number of professions connected with the artisan class. These include potters (*kumbhakāra*), braziers (*kāṁsakāra*), and stone cutters (*śilākūṭa*). The Kāman inscription[9] mentions workers on conch shells (*saṁkhakāra*), and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[10] refers to carpenters (*vardhaki*). Rājaśekhara[11] also notices certain business classes and artisans who were to be assigned places to the west in the Royal Assembly, especially convened for the examination of poets. These

1. E.I. Vol. I, p. 175, ll.27-28.
2. Ibid., ll.30-31 ; one *Pala* of oil (a ladle containing about 4 tolas) from every oil mill, as a contribution for the maintenance of the temple of god Viṣṇu is also mentioned in the Ahar (Udaipur State) temple inscription of the time of Guhila Allaṭa, dated in V.S. 1008 and 1010. (I.A. Vol. LVIII, p. 162).
3. Ref. *Jātakas*, IV, 81, 82 ; E.I. Vol. I, p. 385 (No. VII—a Kuṣāṇa record, etc.)
4. E. I. Vol. XIX, p. 60, l.20.
5. Op. cit.
6. E.I. Vol. VIII p. 89. No. 15.
7. III, 153, p. 278.
8. Op. cit. ll. 9, 15, 30, cf. I.A. Vol. XV, p. 40.
9. Op. cit. No. VII.
10. p. 53.
11. *Kāv*. p. 55.

include painters and bricklayers (*citra-lepya-krita*), jewel, especially ruby setters (*māṇikya bandhaka*), jewellers (*vaikaṭika*), goldsmiths (*suvarṇakāra*), and ironmongers (*lohakāra*). There is no reference to the *Pañcakāruki*—or the five artisan class as a group, though individually a few are noticed. Some of these artisan classes had a guild of their own in ancient times, as, for instance, the *kāṁsāraka* guild is mentioned in a Nāsik record[1]. The stone cutters are also noticed in an earlier record[2]. These artisan groups, mentioned in the inscription of this period, were not new in the economic set up.

Entertainers and Attendants :—The entertainers probably formed a class of their own. Rājaśekhara uses the compound—*naṭa-nartaka-gāyana-vādana-vāgjīvin-kuśīlava-tālāvacarā*[3], suggesting that they were different types of entertainers. *Naṭa* was an actor, and so was a *nartaka* with the difference that the former possibly acted in a pantomime. The terms *gāyana* and *vādana* suggest vocalists and players on musical instruments respectively. *Vāgjīvain*, literary means 'one making his living by speech', and this class probably included story-tellers or reciters of heroic ballads as well. The term *kuśīlava* is explained by Medhātithi[4] in a comprehensive sense to include *caraṇa-naṭa-nartaka-gāyana*, etc. The *tālāvacara* class was that of clappers on the stage. It is interesting to find the Arab historians mentioning *Lāhudas* as a separate class of which the men were fond of games and amusements, and Al-Masūdi[5], especially refers to Kanauj as the centre of jugglers and diviners. The attendants—both male and female—had a separate group. Ibn Khurdādba[6] mentions Baisura class serving as artifices and domestices, and Sandalia performing menial offices. We have referred to their status in the last chapter, and further consideration of their position is uncalled for.

Agriculture and Husbandry :—Agriculture in this period was not the monopoly of the Vaiśyas. The inscriptions suggest that even Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas resorted to it. The Kāman inscription[7] refers to land tilled by the Brāhmaṇas Sāhulla, Jajja and others, and the Gwalior inscription[8] mentions field cultivated by Memāka, the son of the Kṣtriya Devavarman. In the Rajor inscription[9] it is the Gurjaras who are classed as cultivators. In most cases it was tilled personally, but labourers were also available. It is mentioned in the Haḍḍala inscription[10] that the proprietor of a land had a right of forced labour which was transferred along with the gift. The village of Vimkala was conveyed as a reward for learning (*vidyādhanam*) to Maheśvarācārya, and among the rights and privileges associated with the transfer were the share of the produce (*sādāni bhogābhāgaḥ*), and of forced labour (*viṣṭika*). This Brāhmaṇa could not cultivate the land himself, and so he had to depend upon his rights to produce and forced labour. This fact is also noticed in the Sañjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa which mentions *viṣṭika*[11]—forced labour—as the

1. Luders List No. 1165.
2. Ibid., No. 989.
3. *Kāv.* p. 55.
4. III, 145, p. 274.
5. Elliot and Dowson : Op. cit. p. 10.
6. Ibid., p. 13.
7. Op. cit.
8. Op. cit.
9. Op. cit.
10. I. A. Vol. XII, pp. 193ff.
11. E. I. Vol. XVIII, p. 235ff, 1.67.

right accruing from the ownership of the land, and it passed on with the change in proprietorship. It is an interesting feature of rural economic life that the proprietor of land had a right to change the tillers. It is mentioned in the Kāman inscription that three plough measures of land in the village of Untaṭa were previously cutivated by three Brāhmaṇas mentioned above, and at the time of the gift cultivated by one Eḍuvāka.

Evidence is also available on the types of land, sowing in different seasons, the amount of seed required, and irrigational facilities. Cultivated land is called *vāhitakṣetra*[1], as opposed to *ūṣara* which, according to Medhātithi[2], stood for that part of land where on account of the defects of the soil seeds do not spring, or such ground outside the village devoid of water and vegetation[3]. In the Gwalior inscription[4] the chief grain land is called *mūlavāpa*, and the common one *hāra*. Water was provided to the fields by channels called *vāha* which ran round the field. The use of Persian wheel was also known. It is interesting to find the reference to *arahaṭa* (*Skt araghaṭa*)—modern Hindi *rahaṭa*—which was unknown in earlier times. The Partabgarh inscription[5] mentions a field owned by Mādhava, the great governor and *charge d'affaires*, lying to the north of the river which was irrigated by a Persian wheel. As this wheel was installed in the field of the Provincial governor, it is reasonable to presume that it was a novel and expensive thing.

Good produce depends upon the type of land, adequate water supply and the good quantity of seed needed for that particular field. The Gwalior inscription[6] gives an idea of the amount of seed required for a particular field, namely 110 *droṇas* of barley according to the measure of Gopagiri. Similarly the Partabgarh inscription[7] mentions *dhāḍivāha* field in which 10 *mānis* of seed could be sown, and a *mocca* field also requiring an equal quantity of seed. The tilling (*phala*) of the land, followed by sowing and water supply at the opportune time is likely to yield a good crop. In the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[8], there is a reference to the paddy crop called *kalāma*, which was sown in May and June, and ripened in December and January. The inscriptions have little to say on the agricultural process from the cutting of the crop till its deposit in the granary.

Medium of Exchange — Coins :— A well-developed and progressive economic life requires an extensive circulation of coins, and weights and measures of all denominations. Fortunately, inscriptions provide ample material on this aspect of economic life. It is possible that some coins mentioned in records might have been current only in the locality where those inscriptions were found. We have, therefore, to be cautious in that respect.

Coins — Drama : It is noticed in Ahar, Siyadoni and Kāman inscriptions, and it was current all over India in the early mediaeval period. The word *dramma* corresponds

1. E.I. Vol. I, p. 159ff, 1.8.
2. II, 112, p. 134.
3. IV, 120, p. 372.
4. Op. cit. 1.7.
5. E. I. Vol. XIV, p. 182ff.
6. Op. cit.
7. Op. cit.
8. p. 10.

to Greek *drachma*, but it is not noticed in early literature[1] Bhandarkar presumes[2] that the Gurjaras strongly imbibed the Sassanian coinage, and that is why the standard weight of a *drama* comes to 65 grains, quite near to the Greek *drachma* weighing only 66 grains The name *dramma* was restricted to silver coins alone While we may agree with the late professor that *dramma* was borrowed from the Greek *drachma*, his reference to the Gurjaras invading from that direction and strongly imbibing the Sassanian civilization is uncalled for here If similarity in coinage, may be even borrowing of symbols and types, be an index to the movement of a tribe who can doubt Kujula Kadphises's Roman ancestry Various rulers of this period issued *drammas* named after them Thus we find—*Śrimadādivarāha-dramma*[3], called after Bhoja-Ādivarāha of the Pratihāra dynasty, *Vigraha pāliyadramma* (also *Vigrahatungiya dramma*), *Vigraha tungiya dramma*[4], *Vigrahapāla Śaktadramma*, supposed by Bhandarkar to be named after Vigrahapāla of the Pāla dynasty Some *drammas* do not seem to be connected with anyone like *pañciyadramma*[5], probably introduced by the local *goṣṭhi* or *pañcāyata* Sulaiman[6] refers to *Tatariya dirhams*— each weighing a *dirham* and a half of the coinage of the King It is mentioned by almost all the early Arab historians

Pāda .—The Siyadoni inscription also mentions *pañciyakadramma pāda*[7], and *Śrimad-Advarāhadrammasya pāda*[8] The term *pāda* suggests that there was a quarter of a *dramma* current in that period, which could equally be associated with any ruler In another document of the same inscription there is a reference to half a *vigrahatungiyadramma*—suggesting that there was another denomination between the *dramma* and the *pāda*

Vimsopaka —There are references to *Vigraha dramma vimśopakas* and *Varāha-kāya-vimśopaka* The Rajor inscription[9] records a levy of three *vimśopakas* on every sack of agricultural produce, and two *vimśopakas* per mensum for every shop This coin appears to be 1/20 of a *dramma* According to D R Bhandarkar[10] *vimśopaka* denotes a *pana* or *māṣa*, according to Katyāyana, one twentieth part of a *kārṣāpana* in value This *kārṣāpana*, he presumes, evidently stands for a silver coin, and is probably another name for *dramma*, and it must not be confounded with the copper *kārṣāpana* We suggest that *vimśopaka* corresponds to the ancient *vimśatika* mentioned by Patañjali

Rupaka —The Ahar (Udaipur, Rajputana) temple inscription[11] of the time of (the Guhila) Allaṭa records the levy of one *dramma* on the sale of an elephant, two *rūpas* on a

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1 The term *dināra* and *dramma* are notices in the Bakshali Manuscript—seeming to indicate that these coins formed the ordinary currency of the day, and the language employed points, according to Hoernle, to a date not later than the 3rd or 4th century A D, but, according to Kaye, all the evidence that the Bakshali script gives points to some time about the twelfth century A D, and there is not a single type against this conclusion (I A Vol LVIII, p 140)

2 Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p 208

3 E I Vol I, p 175, l 27

4 Ibid, l 20

5 Ibid, l 57

6 Elliot and Dowson Op cit p 3

7 E.I Vol I, p 173, l 6

8 Ibid, l 37

9 Op cit

10 Op cit., p 210

11 I A Vol. LVIII, p 162.

horse, and 1/40 of a *drama* on a housed animal. *Rūpaka* or ancient *rūpa* is mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[1], translated by Stein, as 'gold coins', and also in the *Kathāsaritasāgara*, where at one place the *dināras* are referred to as *suvarṇa-rūpakas* or gold coins. In ancient times *rūpa* was a silver coin in the light of Pāṇini's sūtra: *Rūpādahat-praśaṁsayor yap*, meaning 'the affix *yap* comes in the sense of a *matup* after the word *rūpa* when *ahāta*-stamping and *praśaṁśā*-praise are denoted. It is doubtful if the gold coins were stamped, because the Punch mark coins are confined to silver and copper only[2]. In the present context also, it comes after *dramma*—a silver coin, and the sale tax is only one *dramma* on the sale of an elephant, and two *rūpakas* on a horse. As the elephant fetches much more price than a horse, it is absurd to presume that the seller of the latter is to pay in gold while that of elephants enjoys concession rates. We, therefore, suggest that *rūpaka* was a silver coin As there is another reference to a coin 1/40 of a *dramma* it is probable that *pāda* of the Siyadoni inscription was really 1/4 of a *dramma* The ratio of *rūpaka* to *dramma* may be fixed somewhere between 1/4 and 1/20.

Paṇa :—It is noticed only in a Kāman document (No. 3). According to Viṣṇu,[3] *paṇa* was a weight of copper used as a coin (equivalent to 20 *māṣas* = 4 *kākiṇīs*). He takes *kārṣapaṇa* to denote one paṇa or coined money which is *tāmrika*, i.e. made of copper, and is *kārṣika*, viz. one *karṣa* in weight. According to Alexander Cunningham[4], the unit of the old Indian coin money was the *paṇa* weighing 80 rattis or 146 grains, and this was sub-divided into halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths. In the present context, it appears that the reference is to the copper *paṇa*.

Kākiṇī :—This ancient coin is mentioned in the *Jātakas*,[5] and noticed by Patañjali[6] and Kauṭilya[7]. According to Rhys Davids[8], the monetary value of a *kākiṇī* may be guessed at being 1/8 of a *kahapāna*, as it occurs in descending order where each succeeding coin marks half the value of the preceding one, that is *kahapāna, āḍḍha, pāda, māṣka, kākaṇika* followed by *mudda* for nothing. Bhandarkar[9] doubts the currency of this coin, but its reference in the Siyadoni inscription and its past history suggest its currency.

Kapardaka[10] :—Corresponding to modern Hindi Kaurī, it was the lowest denomination, 20 of which made a *kākiṇī*. According to Sulaiman[11], *kaurī*, in which trade was carried on, was the current money in the country of Ruhmi. The second part of the Siyadoni inscription mentions *varāṭaka*. As the two denominations are not noticed in one context, it is probable that they were synonymous.

Weights and Measures :—The inscriptions mention a few terms—*maṇi, pālika, pala, tāli*, and *hasta*. *Maṇi* is a measurement of weight, its exact denomination was settled

1. VI. 42, 52, etc.
2. Allan : Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India, p. clx.
3. VIII. 136.
4. Numismatic chronicle, Vol. XIII, p. 202.
5. III, 448.
6. V.1.30, p. 300.
7. p. 84.
8. Pāli Dictionary, Part III, p. 30.
9. Op. cit., p. 112.
10. E. I. Vol. I, p. 175, 1.20.
11. Op. cit., p. 5.

definitely prohibited by Manu. Caste did not, probably, interfere in the selection of a craft, and a man was perfectly at liberty to change his craft.

We have presented the economic life of the period, basing our account strictly on the evidence furnished by the inscriptions, and Rājaśekhars's works. It is true that the evidence is not very exhaustive on all the points mentioned above, nevertheless it suggests a developed, progressive and well-established economic life.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

The notable features of the religious condition in this period are the sudden decline of Buddhism, the stronger energence of Bhāgavatism, undue emphasis on popular phases of worship like taking a bath in the river at a lunar eclipse, special importance of *tapas*, the prevalence of the Śaiva system of Pāśupatas, and, above all, absence of sectarian animosity It is rather natural to presume that the Mohammadan invasions should have left permanent scars on the religious systems of the Hindus of early mediaeval India, but surprisingly we find that the life of the people in the religious sphere was unaffected Of course, we do not find traces of sacrifice Attachment to a particular deity, sometimes named after the donor himself, was very common It is interesting to find the father and son attached to different deities even amongst the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers, as, for instance, Devaśakti was a Vaiṣnava, his son Vatsarāja a Śaiva, the latter's son Nāgabhaṭa was a devotee of Bhagavati, whose son Rāmabhadra was a sun worshipper (*Adityabhakta*), and Bhoja himself followed in the footsteps of his grandfather This is a good illustration of the catholic spirit and broad outlook The rulers of the other line were interested in *tapas* Thus, Tāta, realising that the world was evanescent as lightening, conferred the kingdom on his younger brother Bhoja, himself retired to the pious hermitage of Māndavya which was adorned with streams and rivers, and practised there the rites of pure religion Similarly Jhoṭa, son of Śiluka, proceeded to the Bhāgirathi, and his son Bhillāditya disposed to austeries (*tapas*), proceeded to Gangādvāra, stayed there for eighteen years and finally went to heaven by practising fast

A popular phase of religious life was the building of some temple for the increase of spiritual merit, an even path to beatitude, a great ship for crossing the ocean of existences, the seed of the tree of spiritual merit which bears endless fruit, the permanent abode of the goddess of prosperity, and, so to say, a receptacle of fame Sometimes this building of a temple formed a community project in which the entire village or community joined hands Devotion to a particular deity had become common and a god was called by several names As these deities were Brahmanical, we propose considering the follow ing off shoots of Brahmanism—Vaisnavism, Śaivism, Sun worship, Śākta worship, worship of other gods like Vināyaka, Buddhism—its last remnants, Jainism, and the degenerate form of worship, like that of the Kaulas, and lastly, *tapas* and other phenomena

Vaisnavism —Vaisnavism was very popular, patronised by kings and people alike Evidence—epigraphic and archaeological—is rich enough to suggest that Viṣnu was adored in different forms, and, he is addressed by several names, sometimes after the donor himself Nearly a dozen temples are recorded in inscriptions to have been dedicated to this diety, and some stray images have also been found Unfortunately it is only Devaśakti who is addressed as Paramavaisnava These temples may be mentioned here with a view to locating the extent to which Vaiṣṇavism was enjoying its hold in northern India at that time The Buchkala (Jodhpur) inscription[1] refers to the temple of

1. E.I Vol IX, p 199 ff

Parameśvava—which seems to refer to Viṣṇu—as sculptural details suggest. The figure has four heads, with mace, disc and conch-shell. The Gwalior inscription[1] refers to the construction of a Viṣṇu temple by a certain person Ālla, son of Vaillabhaṭṭa and grandson of Nāgarabhaṭa. The deity is addressed as Vaillabhaṭṭa Svāmin, and it was built for the increase of spiritual merit. The Ahar inscription[2] (No. VIII) mentions an *āvarī* belonging to the illustrious Daśāvatāradeva (ten incarnation) evidently Viṣṇu. The Pehoa inscriptions[3] mention amongst the donees the temple of Viṣṇu Garuḍāsana, built by the Brāhmaṇa Bhuvāka in Bhojapura near Kanauj. In the same inscription there is a reference to the temple of Viṣṇu in the Yajñavarāha or boar incarnation built by Bhuvāka at Pehoa, which was also covered in this arrangement made by the horse dealers of Pehoa. It is interesting to learn that the temple of Viṣṇu was set up, very probably, by the same person, though his caste is not mentioned in the latter case, at Bhojapura in Kanauj and also at Pehoa in the Karnal district. The undated Pehoa Praśasti inscription[4] of Mahendrapāla records the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu by some members of the Tomara family. This structure was a triple temple containing three *adyatas* which were united under one roof. The Barton Museum inscription[5] records the building of a temple of Viṣṇu, the enemy of the demon Madhu, while the Ram Gayā inscription[6] is recorded on a bas relief showing the ten incarnations (*daśāvatāra*). The Siyadoni inscription[7] (Part A) mentions endowments made by merchants, artisans, and even the head of the district, Uṇḍābhaṭa, for the temple or temples of Viṣṇu, who is given many names—Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭaraka, Vāmanasvāmideva, Tribhuvanasvāmideva, Bhailasvāmideva and Cakramasvāmideva. The temple of Viṣṇu, set up by the merchant Caṇḍuka, was very popular and there are as many as eight endowments to the temple including a few by the donor himself. The other temples were set up by different persons, as Caṇḍuka's name is not associated with them. It is not clear as to who erected the Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka, and Tribhuvanasvāmideva temples, but the Cakrasvāmideva deity was set up by Purandara, son Dedada, in the temple of Viṣṇu, and the Bhailasvāmideva by the merchant Vikrama. The Vāmanasvāmideva temple received endowment from merchant Bhaila, son of Govinda. It appears from these records that the temple, once erected, became public property and any donor could make an endowment for its upkeep in whatever shape he liked. He could also set up another image of the same deity, as we find here in the case of Cakrasvāmideva's image being set up by Purandara in the temple of Viṣṇu, or that of Śrīviṣṇubhaṭṭāraka by Mahāditya in the temple of Viṣṇu erected by Caṇḍuka. The Siyadoni inscription (Part B) refers to the temple of Murāri (Viṣṇu) at Siyadoni with the image of the god and a garden attached to it. Murāri (Viṣṇu) is invoked along with Svayambhu (Brahma) and Hara (Śiva) in the Nilgund inscription[8] of Amoghavarsa. Two other temples of this deity are also noticed in the Partabgarh[9] and the Asni inscriptions.[10]

1. E.I. Vol. I, p. 159 ff.
2. E.I. Vol. XIX, p. 55 ff.
3. E.I. Vol. I, p. 186 ff.
4. E.I. Vol. I, pp. 242 ff.
5. E.I. Vol. XIX, p. 175.
6. A.S.R. Vol. III, p. 123.
7. E.I. Vol. I, p. 173 ff.
8. E.I. Vol. VI, p. 98 ff.
9. E.I. Vol. XIV, p. 182 ff.
10. I.A. Vol. XVI, p. 174 ff.

The former locates the temple of Viṣṇu, called Trailokyamohana, in the vicinity of Ghoṇṭa-Vārṣika in the western Pathaka (district) of Daśapura, and the latter refers to the temple (probably of Viṣṇu)—Yogasvāmin of which the details are not given.

From these records it appears that, besides the usual name Viṣṇu given to the diety, he is invoked by other names as well—Yajñavarāha (Pehoa), Garudāśanadeva (Pehoa), Narakadvisah (Sāgartal), Mādhava (Pehoa undated), Trailokyamohana (Partapgarh), Murāri (Siyadoni), Tribhuvana-Svāmi (Siyadoni), Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka, Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka, Vāmana-Svāmideva, Cakrasvāmideva (Siyadoni), and sometimes called the lord of the donor or his father, as for instance Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin (Gwalior), or Bhailasvāmideva (Siyadoni). In one case he is called Yogasvāmin. Besides these temples, certain stray images, which were definitely set up in temples, are also noticed—like the five images of Visnu from Sironkhurd in the Lucknow Museum (now untraced). Considering the location of these Viṣṇu temples, one may like to suggest that Vaiṣṇavism was dominating from Gaya to Pehoa (Karnal) in the west, and from Kanuaj to Kathiawar in the south-west with its centres at Gwalior, Daśapura, Siyadoni (Latitpur), Ahar (Bulandsahr), and Partabgarh (Rajputana)—as the references suggest. It does not imply that it lacked patronage in other parts of northern India. In fact that age was noted for Bhaktism, and intense devotion towards a diety was supposed to be the surest and the easiet way for attaining spiritual merit. The Vaiṣṇava formula, noticed in the inscriptions, are—"*Oṁ namo Viṣṇave* (Jodhpur), in whom all elements enter and from whom creation and protection are supposed (to proceed) who is both *nirguna* and *saguna*; *Oṁ namo Viṣṇave-narakādviṣo* (Sagartal)—the dark double body of the circuit of (demon) Naraka, the body which shines like the sky, kissed by the discs of the sun and the moon, (in as much as) it is illuminated by the white lower part of the serpent Śeṣa used as a bed, and made crimson by the brilliancy of the (jewel) Kaustubha glittering in its breast". It is interesting to find Bhojadeva I, who was a Bhagavatī worshipper, erecting a temple in his seraglio in honour of Visnu. Really if he was a Vaiṣṇava, then his goddess Bhagavatī might be identified with Lakṣmī. The names given to Viṣṇu in these records are fairly interesting, and suggest that the Bhāgavata stories connected with Viṣṇu, and his incarnations were current and well-grounded in the religious life and thought of the people in general. Names associated with this deity were fairly common—as for instance, Kriṣneśvara, son of Viṣṇuravi (Jodhpur), Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu, son of Bhaṭṭa Vāsudeva (Daulatpur), Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka (Siyadoni) and Viṣṇurāma. Such a thing is also noticed in the case of Śaiva devotees—like Maheśvarācārya, son of Śivadevācārya (Haḍḍala).

Another point worth attention is that Rāma, the epic hero, is not mentioned in any record as an incarnation of Visnu, even though the story of his birth is told much earlier, in the tenth chapter of the *Raghuvaṁśa* as well as in the *Vāyu Purāna*. In the former work, there is a description of Viṣṇu or Nārāyana, lying on the body of the great serpent, with Lakṣhmī rubbing his feet in the milky ocean and an appeal is made to him to be born as a son of Daśaratha for the destruction of Rāvaṇa. The lexicographer Amarasiṁha does not mention Rāma ; and this omission might be significant symbolising that the cult of Rāma, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, had not yet found a firm footing.

Endowments and Their Maintenance :—The upkeep of a temple was the concern of the entire community, and all types of persons created endowments. We learn from the Siyadoni inscription (part A) that the temple of Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka, built

by Caṇḍuka, was the outcome of the cumulative efforts of Caṇḍuka himself, the local governor Mahāsāmantādhipati Uṇḍabhaṭa, and many others. This community contribution is also noticed in the Mewar inscription of Allaṭa. The arrangement, thus made, suggests that in a joint enterprise, it was the responsibility of the community as a whole to maintain the temple by agreeing to compulsory contributions either in cash or in kind. The Pehoa inscription also mentions the agreement amongst horse dealers relating to the self imposition of tax in all deals to be paid by the vendor and the vendee. The management was entrusted to the *goṣṭhikās* selected from the most respectable inhabitants of the place or even from men who managed other religious and charitable endowments. The beneficiaries were Viṣṇu Garuḍāsana temple, built by the Brāhmaṇa Bhuvaka at Bhojapura near Kanauj, and Viṣṇu Yajñavarāha or boar incarnation temple, possibly built by the same person, at Prithudaka, along with a few others. We learn from the Bayana inscription[1] of Citralekhā that she built a temple of Viṣṇu and donated two villages—Gograpura and Nāgapatti, as well as certain fields in the Hadhapalli, to the diety (Cakrin). It is further mentioned that three *drammas* were to be collected for the god (Śārṅgin) in the *maṇḍapikā* of Śrī Patha and a similar sum in the *maṇḍapikā* of Vusāvaṭa. A gift of one *dramma* was to be set apart whenever a horse was sold.

Śaivism :—The inscriptions also evince the popularity of Śiva worship in that period. Different names are given to this diety, and, like the devotees of Viṣṇu, the votaries of Śiva were also interested in creating religious endowments. The system was not necessarily confined to the clericals or ascetics, and their lay followers, but even simple people adored Śiva, also called Pāśupata, who was powerful, wrathful and impetuous but equally generous and bountiful and spared nothing when propitiated. We propose considering the subject under the following headings :—the worship of Śiva, also called by different names, Śaiva *maṭhas* or monasteries run by the chief of the ascetic order, the cult of Lakulīśa, and the relation of Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism and other Brahmanical deities.

Amongst the Gurjara-Pratihāra Kings, Vatsarāja and Mahendrapāla II are described as devotees of *Maheśvara* or Śiva, but the great emperor Bhoja also took interest in Śaivasm. According to the Kāman inscription, he made over a sum of money to a Śaiva ācārya for the maintenance of a Śaiva temple. Earlier, it has been pointed out that this ruler, though a Bhagavatibhakta, had also created an endowment for the temple of Viṣṇu. Mahendrapāla II, himself a Śaiva, granted the village of Kharapadraka with rights belonging thereto, for all time to come, at the request of Dhanaśiva upon the goddess Vaṭayakṣiṇīdevī, whose shrine was connected with the *maṭha* (monastery), and Hari-Ṛiṣīśvara gave an endowment after bathing in the Kahinīgaṅgā, for the increase of religious merits. Trilocanapāla of the Bengal Asiatic society grant was also a worshipper of Śiva. On the occasion of the *Dākṣiṇāyana Saṁkrānti*, after having bathed in the Ganges, and worshipped Śiva, he gave the village of Lebhundāka in the Asurabhāka viṣaya to six thousand Brahmins belonging to Pratiṣṭhāna, and followers of various schools. Like *Viṣṇubhaṭṭāraka* of the Siyadoni record, Śiva is also given the epithet *bhaṭṭāraka*, meaning 'lord'.

The god is also named after the doner's mother in the Rajor inscription[2] of Mathanadeva. On the occasion of the installation of the image, or the consecration of the temple

1. Bhandarkar's List No. 71.
2. E.I. Vol. III, p. 266.

of the god Lacchukeśvara (Śiva), so named after his mother Lacchukā. Mathanadeva granted to the god (or his temple) the village of Vyāghrapaṭaka up to its proper boundaries with all its sources of revenue for the purpose of defraying the expenses of bathing (the god) three times daily of unguents, flowers, incense, *naivedya* offerings, lights and oil, of applying whitewash and putting on the sacred thread, and of paying labourers, gardeners, etc

Another Gurjara-Pratihāra feudatory — Cāhamāna Bhartṛivaddha of the Hansot Plates[1] was also a devotee of Śiva, as is evident from the use of the attribute Parama-Māheśvara and the name Maheśvaradāma The Haddala (Kathiawar) Plates of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharanivarāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahipāla, mentions the grant of the village of Vimkala as a reward for his learning (*vidyādhanam*) to Maheśvarācārya, the son of Śivadevācārya who belonged to the Āmaradakṣamstāna, a name of Kālabhairava The word *ācārya* shows that the two individuals possessed a religious character and the prefixes *Maheśa* and *Śiva* make it certain that the father and the son were connected with Śaivism It was, thus, a spiritual Śaiva family called Āmaradaka commanding a position, as appears from the word *Sāmanta* The two teachers were associated probably with some *maṭha* or Śaiva monastery

Śiva was worshipped by various names—Rudra, Śiva, Mahādeo, Kāmyakeśvara (Kāman), Lacchukeśvara (Rajor) and also in different forms He is praised in the Ardhanarīśvara form in the Barton Museum inscriptions, the Siyadoni inscription mentions Umāmaheśvara and the Asni record refers to the worship of Yoga svāmin The Bilhari stone inscription,[2] refers to the holy feet of Śankara and Bhavāni This inscription suggests that birth in a princely family, sovereignty over the earth, sacred knowledge, due discrimination, beautiful form and victory in battle come to him who takes refuge with the holy feet of Śankara The inscription calls him, Bhavānipati, and he is addressed by other names, such, as, Śambhu and Sarva (v 2) In the Banaras Plate inscription[3] of Karnadeva, the god is styled Karnadeva In the *Karpuramañjari* we find the queen paying homage to Pārvati, later called Gauri (II 6), who, at another place, is placed at the left side of the Ardhanārīśvara god (I 28 1) This is rather natural, as the god could be propitiated in whatever form, and by whatever name, the individual liked A number of Śaiva images have also been found with a round figure at the top, symbolising the Linga, and four deities on four sides—to the east Sūrya, north Brahmā, west Viṣṇu, and south Rudra. The association of these divinities with Śiva is an interesting feature, suggesting the manifestation of the supreme spirit We shall, however, consider the relation of Śaivism with Vaiṣṇavism and other Brahmanical off-shoots in greater details It is, however, clear that Śaivism was not so rigid as to avoid contact with other divinities There is evidence to suggest that some of the Vaiṣṇava temples were entrusted to Śaiva ācāryas, and certain other deities were also set up in the temple of Śiva

Besides these lay followers, who adored Śiva for his benign and generous attitude, there were others who belonged to a different set up, and they practised Yoga with a view to propitiating the Yogasvāmin The Śaiva ascetics occupied an important place in the

1 E.I vol XII, pp 202 ff
2 E I vol. I pp 251 ff
3 E.I vol II p 297

religious life, and their *mathas* or monasteries were established in different parts of northern India. The Kāman inscription mentions the succession of Śaiva ascetics—the name on one of them in line 10 appears to be Gunavasi. Some *drammas* were formerly made over by Bhojadeva to Paramaṇavāsi which the latter gave to Camundaka who deposited it with the *goṣṭhikas*. The ascetics belonged to the Pāśupata sect. The Asni inscription records an endowment for the god Yogasvāmin, who was propitiated by Brahmins and ascetics alike, by a certain person named Yoggaka, son of Śivaprāsāda. A sum of five hundred *drammas* was earmarked for special occasions, out of the heriditary tax belonging to the King's household. The Rajor inscription refers to Śaiva ascetics—Omkāraśivācārya, a disciple of Rūpaśivācārya, who was a disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya, a member of the Supuriya line or school-devotees started at Āmarddaka, and an inmate of the *Nityapramuditadevamatha* at Rājyapura which was connected with the *Gopāladevī taḍāgapāla maṭha* at Chatraśiva Āmarddaka also figures in the Haḍḍala inscription, and Maheśvarācārya, the son of Śivadevācārya belonged to the Āmardakaśamtama. It is, thus, clear from these records that there were Śaiva monasteries at different places in the charge of some ascetic heads. These Śaiva ascetics, called Pāśupata, after their deity Paśupati or Śiva, were in existence for a long time.[1]

Management Of Saiva Temples :—We learn from the Kāman inscription that the temples of Viṣṇu and Camuṇḍā were placed in charge of Śaiva ācāryas of Pāśupata sect, though the actual management was carried on by the *goṣṭhī* appointed for the purpose. In the same record there are references to grants recorded in favour of shrines attached to the monastery of Hari Riṣiśvara who originally belonged to Daśapura. Under its management were the shrines of Vaṭa-Yakṣiṇīdevī, Indrādityadeva, Trailokyamohana, and the temple of Śiva built at Kāmyaka, and Śaiva ācāryas were successfully in charge of it. The members of the managing Committee were called *goṣṭhikas*. The attachment of the Vaiṣṇava and other temples in the charge of the Śaiva ascetics suggests that there was no secterian animosity in the religious atmosphere.

Other Brahmanical dieties. The other Brahmanical gods and goddesses, noticed in the inscriptions, are Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa) whose quadruple image facing the four di-

1. Lākula was the general name for the Śaiva sects. The Mathurā Pillar inscription of the time of Chandragupta (II) speaks of Uditācārya as tenth in descent from Kuśika, (doubtless the first pupil of Lakulī, the founder of Lākula—Pāśupata sects, fourth from Parāśara, disciple's disciple of Upamita, and disciple of Kapila, and records that he installed in the earlier shrine (Gurvv-āyatana) the (liṅgas) Upamiteśvara, and Kapileśvara for the commemoration of the Preceptors. (E.I. vol. XXI., pp. 5ff.) The other general name Pāśupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakulī, and substituting that of the god Paśupati whose incarnation he was believed to be. The conclusion seems to be that a certain historical person was the founder of the main Śaiva system which was the same, as explained by Mādhava as Lakulīśa-Pāśupata (Bhandarkar : Saivism., Vaisnavism, etc., p. 121). Hiuen-Tsang also mentions Pāśupatas twelve times in his book, and also mentions the temples of Maheśvara at which the Preceptors worshipped. Two contemporary inscriptions may be mentioned here. The Ekalinga (Udaipur) inscription of the time of Naravāhana of Nāgadhara dated in V. 1028 or 971 A.D. refers to Śiva becoming incarnate as a man with a club (lakuta) in his hand in the country of Bhrigukacca, and propitiated by Bhrigu. (J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. XXII, pp. 166 ff.) The other inscription, usually called Cintra *Praśasti* mentions Śiva, becoming incarnate in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka Śri-Lakulīśa, and dwelling at Karohama in the Lāta country. There appeared in bodily form four pupils of his of the names of Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusa and Maitreya for the strict performance of the Pāśupata views, and they became the originators of four branches. (E.I. vol. I., pp. 271 ff.)

rections is surmounted at the pillars set up at Ghaṭiyāla, and the Sun god known by various names—*Aditya* and *Tarunāditya* Rāmabhadra and Vināyakapāladeva were Ādityabhaktas, and the Una inscription mentions the grant made by Balavarman of the Cālukya family for the temple of the Sun god, located near the river Kanavīrikā in the vicinity of the village of Jayapura[1]. The Śakta goddess is mentioned by different names in the records. Rudra, Rudrāṇī, Putānasā (Gwalior no II), Kañcanādevī, (Ahar no II), Kanakaśrīdevī (Ahar no IV, V, VII, VIII), Nandabhagavatī (Ahar no II), Gandhadevi (Ahar no VII), and Cāmuṇḍā (Kāman) Temples and endowments to these goddesses are mentioned in the records Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja I were Bhagavati-bhaktas

Buddhism Buddhism seems to be declining in this period, but was not completely washed out There are a few Buddhist records of this period The British Museum inscription[2] of the time of Mahendrapāla mentions a pious gift by a Buddhist monk named Kusuma, and the Guneria record[3] notices a short Buddhist formulae An inscription[4], recorded on an image of the Buddha taming the elephant Nalagiri recovered from Bihar, is dated in the 14th year of Mahendrapāla Two contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa records[5] mention grants made to a Buddhist Vihāra at Kāmpilya (not in U P but somewhere near Surat) We learn that these Buddhists had come there from Sindh, and belonged to the Āryasaṃgha Barring these few records no other information is available about the Buddhists in this period

Jainism Jainism seems to be popular in Rajputana and western India at this time There is no reference to a Pratihāra ruler being a devotee of any Jain Tīrthaṃkara, but there are two inscriptions which are important The Deogarh (Jhansi dist) Jain pillar inscription[6] of Bhojadeva refers to the Jain temple of Śāntinatha at Luacchagiri—the old name of Deogarh, and the pillar was set up near the temple of holy Jain Arhat by a disciple of Ācārya Kamaladeva. It also mentions the *goṣṭhika*-Vājuāgagaka who was a member of the Committee of management The Osia record[7], incised in a porch of the Jain temple, speaks of its existence in Ukesa (Osia) in the time of Vatsarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty This temple of Mahāvīra stood in the heart of the city, and a merchant named Jindaka renovated it in V S 1013 This inscription also mentions the temple committee (*goṣṭhi*) From these two records it would appear that Jainism was confined to the south west of U P and Rajputana It could not find favour with the Pratihāra rulers, though in the *Bappa bhatti carita* there is a reference to Nāgabhaṭa accepting Jainism

Popular worship and the Kaulas

Another feature of the religious life in this period was the belief in popular religious tales attached to religious centres and personalities, and the importance of the Brāhmanas The story of Gangā vatarana is noticed in the *Karpūramañjari* (III 9), and the *Viddhaśāla-*

1 E I vol IX, pp 2, 3
2 Memoir, A S B Vol p 64
3 A S R Vol III p 124
4 A S I An Rep 1923-24, p 102
5 E I Vol VI, p 285, Vol XXII, p 164
6 E.I Vol IV, p 310
7 A S I An Report, 1908 9 p 108

bhañjikā refers to the means of purification through a Brahmin's feet. There are many records of endowments made after a sacred bath,or on a solar eclipse day. The importance of Gaṅgā-Bhāgīrathī was great. We notice Jhoṭa son of Śiluka proceeding to the Bhagīrathī in the Jodhpur record. The *Karpūramañjarī* also refers to Kaulas and the supernatural powers possessed by Bhairavanātha. While one may not rely on the evidence of a drama, one can "hardly question the existence of the Kaulas in the religious life of the people. They combined pleasure with salvation, religion with indulgence in wine and women, and repute for piety with most unrestricted sensuality. (*Karpur* I.22.24). These people were certainly looked down upon in high society.

We have considered the religious condition of this period on the basis of the data mostly furnished by the inscriptions. It has been made clear that Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were dominating. The former had their own *maṭhas* in charge of the ācāryas, and Vaiṣṇava temples were sometimes placed under them. The management was entrusted to the committees. Many Brahmanical deities also figure prominently. A bath in the Ganges at the Solar eclipse, or touching the feet of the Brāhmaṇas were cheap forms of religious practices. Buddhism was fast declining, and Jainism could keep its hold only in Rajputana and Gujrat, as well as at Deogarh. Degenerate form of worship, practised by the Kaulas, was also known. Islam could not get a footing in northern India for a long time. On the whole, people were following a religious life based on toleration and catholicity.

APPENDIX A.

List of Pratihāra inscriptions of Kanauj.

1. Buchkalā (Jodhpur — Rajputana) inscription of the time of P.M.P. Nāgabhaṭa, son of the M.P. Vatsarāja.
   Date: V. 872 = 815 A. D.
   Ref.: D. R. Bhandarkar. P.R.A.S. West. Cir., 1906-07, p. 38.
   E.I., Vol. IX. pp. 199 f.
   J.R.A.S. 1907, p. 1011.
   Bhandarkar's List No. 22.
2. Barāh (Kanpur dist.)—now Lucknow Museum, Inscription of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Bhojadeva (I).
   Date: V. 893 = 836 A. D.
   Ref.: E. I., Vol. XIX. pp. 17 ff.
   Bhandarkar's List No. 25.
3. Daulatpur (Jodhpur State)—now Ajmer Museum, Inscription of the Mahārāja Bhojadeva (I) surnamed Prabhāsa.
   Date: V. 900 = 843 A.D.
   Ref.: E. I., Vol. V. pp. 211 ff.
   D. R. Bhandarkar. J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. XX. pp. 410 ff.
   Hoernle: J.R.A.S. 1904, pp. 642 ff.
   Bhandarkar's List No. 20.
4. Deogarh (Jhānsi dist.) Jain Pillar inscription of the time of the P.M P. Bhojadeva, and of his Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma.
   Date: V. 919 = 862 A.D.
   Ref. : E. I., Vol. IV. p. 310.
   Cunningham: A.S.R. Vol. X. p. 101.
   Bhandarkar's List No. 33; cf. No. 1085.

5. Gwalior Inscription of the time of Ādivarāha (Bhojadeva), son of Rāmadeva.
   Date: V. 932 = 875 A.D.
   Ref. · E. I., Vol. I. p. 156 ff.
   Bhandarkar's List No. 35.

6. Gwalior Inscription of the time of Parameśvara Bhojadeva.
   Date: V. 933 = 876 A.D.
   Ref. : R. L. Mitra. J.A.S.B. Vol. XXXI. p. 407.
   Hultzsch: E.I., Vol. I. pp. 159 ff.
   Bhandarkar's List No. 36.

7. Āhār (Bulandsahr) Inscription of Bhojadeva.
   Date: H. 259 = 865 A.D.
   Ref. : Ojha: An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1923-4, pp. 24 f.
   Chatterji: J.U.P.H.S., Vol. III. Part III., pp. 106 ff.
   Sahni: E.I., Vol. XIX. pp. 588 f.
   Bhandarkar's List No. 1410.

8. Pehevā (Karnal dist.) Inscription of the time of the Bhojadeva, successor of the M. Rāmabhadradeva.
   Date: H. 276 = 882 A.D.
   Ref. : E. I., Vol. I. pp. 186 ff.
   Bhandarkar's List No. 1412.

9. Delhi (fragmentary) Inscription of the time of Bhojadeva of Kanauj.
No Date.
Ref. : Ojhā : An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1923-4, p. 2.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1662.
A.S.I. An. Rep. 1925-6, p. 183.

10. Sāgartāl (west of Gwalior) Inscription of Mihira-Bhoja.
No Date.
Ref. : Sāstrī—A.S.I. An. Rep. 1903-04, pp. 280 ff.
Kielhorn: Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, 1905, Heft 2, pp. 300 ff.
Majumdar : E.I., Vol. XIII, pp. 107, ff.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1663.

11. Barton Museum (Bhavanagar) fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhoja.
No Date.
Ref. : E.I., Vol. XIX, pp. 174 ff.

12. Ūnā (Junāgadh) Plate of the time of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Mahendrāyudhadeva, Successor of the P.M.P. Bhojadeva of Kanauj.
Date : Valabhī Saṁvat 574 = 893 A.D.
Ref. : Kielhorn : Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, 1904, pp. 204 ff.
E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 4, ff.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1379.

13. Dighwa—Dubauli (Saran dist., Bihar) Plate of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva, issued from Mahodaya.
Date : V. 955 = 898 A.D.
Ref. : R. L. Mitra, J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 321 ff.
Fleet, I.A., vol. XV, p. 112.
Bhandarkar : J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, pp. 410 ff.
Hoernle : J.R.A.S., 1904, pp. 642 ff.,
Bhandarkar's List No. 40.

14. Ūnā (Junāgadh State) Plate of the time of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Mahendrapāla, Successor of P.M.P. Bhojadeva and his feudatory the Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman.
Date : V. 956 = 899 A.D.
Ref. : Kielhorn. Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Gottingen.
E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 6 ff.
Bhandarkar's List No. 41.

15. Sīyadoni (Jhansi dist.) Inscription — Consolidated Record P.M.P. of the time of Mahendrapāladeva, son of P.M.P. Bhojadeva of Kanauj.
Date : V. 960 = 903 A.D.
Ref. : Hall : J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 6 f
Kielhorn : E.I., Vol. I, p. 173.
Bhandarkar's List No. 42.

16. *Ibid.*
Date : 964 = 907 A.D.
Ref. : *ibid.*
Bhandarkar's List No. 44.

17. Pehevā (Karnal dist.) now Lucknow Museum Inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj.
No. Date.
Ref. : E.I., Vol. I, pp. 244 ff.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1664.

18. British Museum Inscription of the time of the P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva
Date : year 2.
Ref. : Kielhorn : Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wisenschaften zu Gottingen, 1904, p. 211.
Banerji — Memoir A S.B , Vol. V. p. 64.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1641.

19. Paharpur (E. Bengal) Votive Stone Pillar Inscription of Mahendrapāla.
Date : year 5.
Ref. : A.S I An Rep. 1925-6, p. 141.
Bhandarkar's List No 1643

20. British Museum Inscription of the time of Mahendrapāladeva.
Date : year 6.
Ref. : Kielhorn · Nachrichten d. K. Ges d. Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, 1904, p 210 ff
Banerji — Memoirs. A. S. B. Vol. V. p. 64 and Pl. XXXI.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1644

21. Rām-Gayā (Gaya dist.) Daśāvatāra inscription of the time of Mahīndrapāla.
Date : year 8.
Ref. : Cunningham : A S.R., Vol. III, p. 123
Banerji — Memoirs. A.S B., Vol. V. p. 64.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1645.

22. Guneria (Gaya dist.) inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla.
Date : year 9.
Ref. : Banerji — Memoirs. A.S.B , Vol V. p. 69.

23. Bihar (Patna dist.) Buddha Image, (now Indian Museum, Calcutta) of the time of the Mahīndrapāladeva.
No Date.
Ref. : Chanda. R.P , A.S I. An Rep. 1923-4, p 102.

24 Itkhori Stone Inscription of the time of Mahīndrapāla.
No Date.
Ref. : A.S.I. An. Rep. 1920-1, p. 35.

25. Haddala (Kathiawar) Plates of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha — feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva, issued from Vardhamāna,
Date : S. 836 = 914 A.D.
Ref. : Buhler : I A. Vol XII, pp. 193 ff.
ibid., Vol XXIII, p 114.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1086.

26. Asni (Fatehpur. U.P.) Inscription of the time of the (Pratihāra) P.M P. Mahīpāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva.
Date : V. 974 = 917 A.D.
Ref. : Fleet · I.A., Vol. XVI. pp. 174 ff.
Kielhorn : E.I., Vol. I. p. 171.
Vogel : P.R A.S. W. C. 1905-06, pp. 114 ff.
Bhandarkar's List No. 49.

27. Bengal Asiatic Society Plate of the (Pratihāra) Mahārāja Vināyakapāladeva, issued from Mahodaya,
Date : V. 988 = 931 A D
Ref. : R.L. Mitra : J A.S B , Vol. XVII. Pt. I. pp. 70 ff.
Hall : *ibid* , Vol. XXXIII, pp. 321 ff.
Fleet : I.A., Vol. XV, p. 140.
Bhandarkar : J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI. pp. 410 ff. List No. 53.

28. Gwalior Rock Tablet Inscription from Chanderi — mentioning Vināyakapāladeva (II).
Date: V. 999, 1000 = 942-3 A.D.
Ref. : A.S.I. An Rep. 1924-5, p. 160 f.

29. Partābgarh (Rajputana) now Ajmer Museum Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva issued from Mahodaya.
Date: V. 1005 = 948 A.D.
Ref. : I.A., Vol. XLV, pp. 122 ff.
E.I., Vol. XIV pp. 182 ff.

30. Sīyaḍoni Inscription—dated in the time of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Devapāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Kṣitipāladeva, and of the time of the M. Niṣkalanka, governor of Sīyadoni.
Date: 1005 = 948 A.D.
Ref. : E.I., Vol. I. p. 177.
Bhandarkar's List No. 65.

31. Rajorgarh (Alwar State) now Alwar Museum inscription of the M.P.M. Mathanadeva and of the time of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Vijayapāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Kṣitipāladeva.
Date: 1016 = 959 A.D.
Ref. : R.L. Mitra: Proc. A.S.B. 1879, pp. 157 ff. and Prāchīnalekhamālā, Vol. I. p. 53 ff.
Kielhorn: E.I., Vol. III. p. 266.
Bhandarkar's List No. 74.

32. Jhūsī (Allahabad dist.) now B.A.S. Plate of the (Pratihāra) P.M.P. Trilocanapāladeva, successor of the P.M.P. Rāyapalādeva, successor of Vijayapāladeva issued from near Prayāga.
Date: 1084 = 1027 A.D.
Ref. : Brown: Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVII., p. 621.
Hall: J.A.S.B. Vol. XXV. p. 8.
Kielhorn: I.A. Vol. XVIII. p. 34.
Bhandarkar's List No. 116.

33. Karā (Allahabad dist.) now Calcutta Museum Inscription of M. Yaśaḥpāla—issued from Kara.
Date: 1093 = 1036 A.D.
Ref. : Colebrooke. Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX. p. 441.
Miscellaneous Essays II, p. 278.
Prinsep. Essays. J.A.S.B., Vol. V. p. 731.
Sahni. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1923-4, p. 123.
J.R.A.S. 1927, p. 694.

APPENDIX B.

Records of other Families shedding light on the Gurjara-Pratihāra History.

I. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Records.

1. Wani Copper Plate Inscription of Govinda III.
   Date: S. 730 = 808 A.D.
   Ref. : I.A., Vol. XI. pp. 156 ff.

2. Rādhanpur Copper Plate of Govinda III.
   Date: S. 730 = 808 A.D.
   Ref. : E.I. Vol. VI. pp. 239 ff.

3. Baroda Copper Plate Inscription of Karkarāja.
   Date: S. 734 = 812 A.D.
   Ref. : I.A., Vol. XII. pp. 156 ff.

4. Nilgund Inscription of Amoghavarsa.
   Date: S. 700 = 866 A.D.
   Ref. : E.I., Vol. VI. pp. 98 ff.

5. Bagumra Copper Plate Inscription of Dhruvarāja.
   Date: S. 789 = 807 A.D.
   Ref. : I.A., Vol. XII. pp. 170 ff.

6. Sañjan Copper Plates Of Amoghavarṣa.
   Date: S. 793 = 71 A.D.
   Ref. : E.I., Vol. XVIII. pp. 235 ff.
   J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII. pp. 116 f.

7. Cambay Copper Plates Inscription of Govinda IV.
   Date: S. 852 = 930 A.D.
   Ref. : E.I., Vol. VII. pp. 26 ff.

8. Karhad Copper Plates of Kṛṣṇa III.
   Date: S. 880 = 959 A.D.
   Ref. : E.I, Vol. IV. pp. 270 ff.

9. Paṭhari Pillar Inscription of Parabala.
   Date: V. 917 = 860 A.D.
   Ref. : E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff.
   I.A. 1911, pp. 239-40.

II. Candella Records.

1. Khajurāho Inscription No. 1 of Harṣadeva.
   No Date.
   Ref. : E.I., Vol. I. p. 121 f.

2. Khajurāho Inscription No. II of Dhanga.
   Date: V. 1011 = 954 A.D.
   Ref. : E.I., Vol. I. pp. 122 ff.

III. Cedi Records.

1. Bilhari Stone Inscription of Yuvarājadeva.
   No Date.
   Ref. : E.I., Vol. I. pp. 251 ff.
   Bhandarkar's List No. 1577.

2. Benares Copper Plate Inscription of Karnadeva.
Date : K. 793 = 1042 A.D.
Ref. : E.I., Vol. II. pp 297 ff.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1223

IV. Records of the Pālas.

1. Khalimpur Copper Plate Inscription of Dharmapāla
Regnal year 32
Ref. : E I , Vol IV. pp. 243 ff
Bhandarkar's List No. 1610.

2. Monghyr Copper Plate Inscription of Devapāla.
Regnal year 33.
Ref. : E I , Vol. XVIII pp 304 ff
Bhandarkar's List No. 1611

3. Bhagalpur Copper Plate Inscription of Nārāyanapāla.
Regnal year 17.
Ref. : I A., Vol XV. pp 304 ff.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1618

4. Badal Pillar Inscription of Guravamisra, minister of Nārāyanapāla.
No Date
Ref E I., Vol II, pp 160 ff.
Bhandarkar's List No 1620

5 Baragaon or Nālandā Image Inscription of Gopala II.
Regnal year I
Ref. : J P A S B 1908, N.S., Vol IV. pp. 105 f.
Bhandarkar's List No 1622.

6. Bodh Gayā Inscription of Gopāla II.
No Date.
Ref. : J.P.A S.B , Vol. IV p. 105
ibid , pp. 102 ff.
Vol. V. (1909) pp 103 f.
Bhandarkar's List No. 1623.

V. Inscriptions of the other Pratihāra Families.

I. Jodhpur Inscription of Bāuka
Date : V. 894 = 837 A.D.
Ref. : J R.A.S. 1894, pp. 1 ff.
E.I , Vol. XVIII. pp. 87 ff.

2. Ghaṭiyālā Inscriptions of Kakkuka.
Date : V. 918 = 859 A D.
Ref. : J.R.A.S. 1895, pp. 513 ff.
E.I , Vol. IX. pp. 210 ff.
Bhandarkar's List Nos. 30 31 32

B. 1. Bayānā (Bharatpur) Inscription of the time of (Pratihāra ?) M. Mahīpāla.
Date : V. 1012.
Ref. : P.R.A.S. W.C , 1910-19 pp. 43 ff ; *ibid* ,1919-20, p. 57.
Bhandarkar's List No 71.

2. Osia (Jodhpur) Jain temple Inscription.
Date : V. 1013.
Ref. : A.S.I. An. Rep. 1908-9, p. 108.
Bhandarkar's List No. 72.

APPENDIX C

A Note on the Gurjara-Pratihāra Coinage.

Base Silver and Copper Coins with the figure of Ādi-Varāha an incarnation of Viṣṇu on the Obverse, and a Nāgari legend in two lines mentioning the name of the ruler on the Reverse, are known for a long time, and have engaged the attention of several scholars[1] These are identified with the several distinct kinds of *drammasa or dramya mentioned in the Gurjara Pratihāra inscriptions*[2] As we have considered the numismatic data from these records earlier in the Chapter on 'Economic Life', we propose confining our present study only to the Ādi Varaha type of coins, with particular reference to their find spots, types, weight and size, and the general description

Find-Spots : These coins were recovered from Hatila[3] (near Fyzabad U P), Baghera[4] 12 miles due west from Thoda, and about 47 miles to the south west of Ajmer, Village Bhondri[5] in Sisendi Raj, Lucknow district, and from Ahicchatra[6] in the Bareilly district At present there are about 200 Ādi Varāha and Vigrahapāla coins in the Lucknow Museum, about 20 Ādi Varāha coins in Silver and Copper in the Indian Museum, and a few in the Baroda Museum

Types . These coins are of one type only Those issued by Bhoja have the legend *Śrimadādivarāha* on the reverse, while those of Vināyakapaladeva have the boar on the obverse and the king's name on the reverse According to Cunningham, these coins are found both in Silver and Copper Smith and Bidyavinod[7] endorsed the opinion of Cunningham, but Mr Kar[8] suggests that the so called copper coins were originally silver plated and meant to circulate as silver money No gold coin in this type has been recovered so far[9]

Weight and size : The weight of these coins varies considearbly According to Cunningham,[10] the simple drammas weigh upwards of 60 grains or up to 65 The *Srimadādivarāha dramma* is of the same weight as the simple one ranging up to 63 grains The weight of the coins of Vināyakapāla deva varies from 62 to 69 grains[11] According to Bidyavinod,[12] the minimum weight of these coins is

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1 Cunningham A S R Vol I p 329, Coins of Mediaeval India pp 50 ff Hultzsch E I Vol I p 155 n 8, Smith Cat Coins, Ind Mus Vol I p 241, B B Bidyavinod Supp Cat Ind Mus I p 54, V S Agrawala J N S IV Vol X pp 28 ff, A S Altekar ibid Vol XI pp 161 ff, R C Kar ibid Vol XV p 214 ff, C D Chatterji Note on Ādi Varaha coins in K M Munshi's Gurjaradesa (1955) Appendix VI pp 215 ff,

2 According to Cunningham's Classification the dramma coins may be arranged as follows
Śrimad Ādivaraha title of Bhojadeva of Kanauj or Mahodya (Gwalior A D 875, 876)
Dharmas (Pehevā A D 903 907) of Mahendrapaladeva
Dra—(Asni A D 917) of Mahipaladeva
Vigrahapāla dramma (Siron inscription) (Coins of Mediaeval India pp 50)

3 A S R Vol I p 329

4 ibid Vol VI p 137

5 J N S I Vol X p 28

6 Ancient India Number I p 39

7 Op cit

8 Op cit p 218

9 Mr Nagar of the Lucknow Museum reports the find of a gold coin of Bhoja which he acquired from a local dealer

10 Coins of Mediaeval India p 50

11 Agrawala. Op Cit. Dr Agrawala also refers to a treatise called *Dravyaparikṣā*, written in V S 1375 which mentions Varaha mudrā and Vināyaka mudrā (verses 90 91) In case of the former the net weight was 10 tolas 7 māshas per 100 coins, and in the case of the latter 8 tolas

12 Op cit. p 59

41 3 grains and the maximum 61 7 grains The coins are round and irregular in shape, and the size varies from. 6 to 8

Description · The full obverse device does not appear in its entirety on any single coin, and its has to be pieced to-gether from a number of specimens The same applies to the reverse type as well. Both the sides appear to be encircled by a margin of dots Within the encircled area on the obverse is the figure of the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu[1], having a boar's head on a human body The god is striding to his proper left with his left leg slightly raised and bent at the knee. There are half moon shaped marks between the trunk of the god and his arms He has only two arms, the right one rests on the hip, while the left one, bent at the elbow, rests on the knee of his bent left leg Something is placed on the left elbow of the god probably the earth goddess[2] There is a solar wheel, with six or seven knobs or holes, in front of the god to the right aptly described as *Cakra* In the left field are other emblems *gada* (mace), *padma* (lotus flower), and *Saṅkha* (conch shell) Below the feet of the god some reptile with two heads is noticed which might be the serpent king in an attitude of supplication[3]

The reverse has an inscription in two lines, written in the characters of the ninth and the tenth centuries The first line mentions *Śrimada* and the second one *divaraha*. Below the legend is an altar in between two other devices of a similar nature It is not possible to suggest the significance of these devices

1 This is the usual posture in which the Ādi Varaha is usually shown The two rare gold coins of Vatsadaman also show Viṣṇu in his Vāmana or dwarf avatara According to Rapson, the style of the Nagari letters and the reverse type a representation of Viṣṇu alike connect this coin with those of Srimad Ādivaraha (Indian Coins p 116 pl IV 5 also J R. A. S 1900 p 123)

2 Mr Kar suggests that the goddess perched on the raised left elbow of Ādi Varāha does not represent the earth goddess, but agrees with Dr J N Banerji's contention that it is Śrī and not Pṛthvi (J.I S O A, Vol XIII p 121)

3 The Vatsadāman's coins show Viṣṇu slaying the demons Mr Kar notices a conventionalised lion probably rival monarchs whom Bhoja had put down.

APPENDIX D

List of Gurjara-Pratihāra Monuments

(A study based on inscriptions.[1])

A. Brahmanical :

I. Vaisṇava Temples :

1. *Temple of Viṣṇu as Yajñavarāha.*
   Loc : Prithudaka, near Prācī-Sarasvatī.
   Pat : Built by Bhuvāka in the time of Bhoja.
   Ref : E. I. Vol. I. p. 187 , Cunningham. A. S. R. Vol. II. p. 224.
   Date : A. D. 882-883.
   Pres : Pehoa, 14 miles w. of Thāneśvara, Karnal Dist.

2. Temple of Visnu as Garudāśana.
   Loc : Bhojapur, near Kanauj.
   Pat : Built by Bhuvāka under Bhoja I.
   Ref : E. I. Vol. I. pp. 184ff.
   Date : Not given.
   Pres : Nil.

3. Temple of Viṣṇu as Narakādvisaḥ.
   Loc : Details not given.
   Pat : Built by Bhoja himself.
   Ref : E. I. Vol. XVIII. p. 110.'
   Date : Not given.
   Pres : Nil.

4. Temple of Viṣṇu as Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin.
   Loc : Gopagiri (Gwalior).
   Pat : Bhoja I.
   Ref : E. I. Vol. I. p. 154.
   Date : A. D. 875.
   Pres : No trace ; Ref. Cunningham. ASR. Vol. III. p. 335

5. Temple of Viṣṇu Yogasvāmin.
   Loc : Details not given.
   Pat : Mahipāladeva.
   Ref : I. A. Vol. 16 p. 173.
   Date : A. D. 917.
   Pres : A square pillar in Town Hall, Fatehpur, U.P.

6. *Temple of Viṣṇu Trailokyamohana.*
   Loc : Perhaps Daśapura and Ghontavārṣika.
   Pat : Mahendrapāla II.
   Ref : E. I. Vol. XIV. pp. 178 ff.
   Date : A. D. 946.
   Pres : Ghotarsi, 7. E. of Partabgarh (Rajputana) No trace of any monument.

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1. A study in Regional & Dynastic distribution of Gurjara-Pratihāra monuments was first attempt-ed by Prof. H. D. Sankalia (Proceedings Indian History Congress Hydrabad, 1941). The above list is an improvement on Dr. Sankalia's paper in the sense that it is a little more elaborate, and the treatment is subjective. We are, however, thankful to him.

7. Temple of Murāri.
Loc: Sīyadoni
Pat: Built by Damodara.
Ref: E. I. Vol. I. p. 172.
Date: Nil.
Pres: Ruined shrine of Satagatto, N. of Siron.

8. Temple of Vişnu.
Loc: Prithudaka.
Pat: Built by Goku and others during the reign of Mahendrapāla.
Ref: E I. Vol. I p 247.
Date: Not mentioned
Pres: Pehoa, Karnal Dist.

9. Vinşu Daśāvatāra.
Loc: Tattandapura on the Gangā
Ref E I. Vol. XIX. p. 52
Date: Nil
Pres: Perhaps Āhār, Dist Bulandsahr, U.P.

10. A. Bas-Relief of Daśāvatāra.
Loc: Rāmgayā
Pat: Mahīpāla.
Ref: ASR. III. p. 123.
Pres: Loc - No. Trace.

11. Temple of Vişnu.
Loc: Ukhāmandir.
Pat: Citralekhā, queen of Mahīpāla.
Date: A. D 955.
Pres: Bayānā, Bharatpur. No trace of the temple.

II. Śaiva Temples:

1. Temple of Śiva Lacchukeśvara Mahādeva.
Loc: near by a temple of Ganeśa.
Pat: Mathanadeva of Gurjara-Pratihāra family.
Ref: E. I. Vol. III. p. 263.
Date: A. D. 959.
Pres: Ruins of Nilakaņţha Mahādeva, near Paranagar south of Rajór, Alwar state.

2. Temple of Parameśavara.
Loc: Buchkalā-Rājyaghangakam.
Pat: Queen Jāyāvalī.
Ref.: E. I. Vol. IX. pp. 199 ff.
Date: A. D. 815.
Pres: Inscribed on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sabhā maņḍapa* of the temple of Pārvatī.

3. Siddheśvara Mahadeva Temple.
Loc: Māndavyapura.
Pat: Śiluka of the Jodhpur line.
Ref: E. I. Vol XVIII. pp. 95 ff.
Pres: No trace. Inscription discovered in the wall surrounding the city of Jodhpur.

4. Vināyaka (Ganapati) Image.
Loc: Rohinsakūpa.
Pat: Kakkuka of the Jodhpur line.
Ref: E. I. Vol. IX. pp. 279 ff.
Date: A. D. 861.

Pres: Ghatiyālā, 22 w of Jodhpur. The pillar standing in situ is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Ganapati facing the cardinal points.

III. Sūrya Temples.

1. *Temple of Sun known as Tarunāditya.*
   Loc: On the Kanvikṣikā river in Saurāṣṭra.
   Pat: Built by Āvanivarman and Balavarman, feudatories of Mahendrapāla I.
   Ref: A. D 899.
   Date: E. I. Vol. IX. pp. 6 ff.
   Pres: Perhaps near Ūnā in Kathiawar.

2. Temple of Sūrya as Indrāditya.
   Loc: Ghonṭavārsika near Daśapura.
   Pat: Built by Indrarāja under Mahendrapāla II.
   Ref: E. I. Vol XIV. pp. 176 ff.
   Date: A. D. 946.
   Pres: Uncertain.

IV. Mixed Temples.

1. Nāmasvāmī.
2. Tribhuvanasvāmī. (Visnu)
3. Umā-Maheśvara (Śiva).
4. Bhaillasvāmin.
5. Cakrasvāmin (Viṣnu).
   Loc. Sīyadoni.
   Pat: Mahendrapāladeva.
   Ref: E. I. Vol. I. p. 173.
   Date: A. D. 903.
   Pres· Siron Khurd, 10 miles N. W. of Lalitpur.

V. Temples of Brahmanical goddesses.

1. Temple of Vatayakṣinī of Harikeśvara.
   Loc: Daśapurā.
   Pat: Mahendrapāla II.
   Ref: E. I. Vol. XIV. pp. 176 ff.
   Date: A. D 946.
   Pres: Mandasor.

2. Temple of Nava Durgā.
   Loc: Situated beyond the Vriśchikā river.
   Pat: Built by Alla during the reign of Bhoja I.
   Ref: E. I. Vol. I. p. 159; Cunningham. ASR. II 332.
   Date: A. D. 875.
   Pres: Uncertain perhaps on the Suvarnikā river.

3. Temples of Goddesses Kanakadevī, Nandābhagavatī, Gandhadevī and Sarvamaṅgalādevī.
   Loc: Tattanandapura.
   Ref: E. I. Vol. XIX p. 32.
   Pres: Numerous mounds exist in Bulandsahar.

4. Image of Bhagavatī on a seal.
   Loc: Not known.
   Ref: I. A. Vol. 15. p. 112½.

IV. Other Monuments:

1. Agrahāra.
   Loc: Śiva (Sewa).
   Pat: Bhoja I.

Date : Uncertain.
Ref : E. I. Vol. V. p. 208.
Pres : Ruins of an Agrahāra at Siva, 7 E. of Didwana.

B. Jain Temples :

1. Temple of Jina.
Loc : Rohimskūpa.
Pat : Feudatory family of Jodhpur.
Date : JRAS. 1895. p. 516.
Pres : An old ruined Jain structure, now called Mātā-kā-sala Ghatiyālā in Jodhpur State.

2. Temple of Mahāvīra
Loc : Ukeśa.
Pat : Vatsarāja.
Ref : E. I. Vol. IX. pp 199 ff
Date : 956 A D.
Pres . Osia. Jodhpur State

3 Pillar in a Jain Temple.
Loc : Lucchagiri.
Pat : Deva, a pupil of Ācārya Kamaladeva.
Ref : E. I. Vol. IV. p 309
Date : A. D 862.
Pres Detached portico of Jain Temple
No 12 Deogarh. Cunningham A.S R Vol. X. p. 101.

C. Buddhist Monuments :

1. Image of Buddha.
Loc : Not known.
Pat : During the time of Mahendrapāla.
Ref : I. A. 1908 p. 110.
Pres : Found at Guneriya. S. Bihar.

2. Buddha Image.
Loc : Bihar (Patna Dist).
Pat : Mahendrapāla.
Ref : ASI. An. Rep. 1923-24 p. 102.
Date : 5th Regnal year.
Pres : Unknown.

3 Pillar to Buddha.
Loc : Pahārpur. Rajshahi, E. Bengal.
Ref : ASI. An. Rep. 1925-26 p. 141.

4. Image (?).
Loc : Nālandā.
Pat : Mahendrapāla.
Ref : ASI. AN. Rep. 1920-21 p 35.

D. Miscellaneous Monuments.

Waterworks.
Loc : Rakhetra.
Ref : ASI. AN. Rep. 1924-25 p. 168.

Loc=Location ; Pat=Patron ; Ref=Reference ; Press=Present Location.

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